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VOLUME XLI — 1912.

WHO WAS THE PATRON OF VASUBANDHU?

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

M. M. Haraprasad Shastri was the first to draw attention to the hemistich occurring in Vâmana's *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra-vritti*, which speaks of a son of Chandragupta. In the last June number of this Journal, Prof. K. B. Pathak has brought the same passage to the notice of scholars, apparently not knowing that it had already been done, but his paper is interesting because the view he therein sets forth is different from that of M. M. Haraprasad Shastri. The interest of this subject was increased by the letter of Dr. Hoernle, which has appeared in the last September number. In this number has been published another letter on the same subject, *viz.*, from M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, in which he defends the view originally propounded by him. As the whole discussion has become very interesting, I feel tempted to state here my own view of the matter. In fact, the more I think of the hemistich, the more it appears historically important to me.

In the first place, it is of paramount importance to settle the correct reading of the explanatory note which Vâmana adds to the hemistich quoted by him. According to some MSS. it is आश्रयः कृताधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात्साभिप्रायत्वम्। According to others it is exactly the same, but, instead of *Vasubandhu,*° they have *cha Subandhu.*° And so the question arises: which is the correct reading? In my opinion *Vasubandhu*° is the correct reading. For if we suppose for the moment that *cha Subandhu*° is the correct reading, the word *cha* becomes devoid of any significance. The passage cited above is followed by Vâmana's further note एतेन 'रतिविगलितबन्धे केशपाशे सुकेश्याः' इत्यत्र सुकेश्या इत्यस्य च साभिप्रायत्वं व्याख्यातम्। Here also the word *cha* occurs, but here this word is perfectly appropriate and intelligible, as it obviously joins this sentence to the preceding. But it becomes meaningless in the first passage, if we suppose that *cha Subandhu*° is the correct reading. I have, therefore, no doubt that *Vasubandhu*° represents the correct reading. And as Subandhu, being a Brâhmanic poet, was better known to the scribes than the Buddhist monk Vasubandhu and as the form of the letter *v* is even to this day found extremely similar to that of *ch* in old MSS., it is perfectly intelligible how *Vasubandhu*° came to be written *cha Subandhu*°. There is another consideration also which supports the reading *Vasubandhu*° and not *cha Subandhu*°. In the tenth of the prefatory verses of the *Vâsavadattâ*, Subandhu wails that on the death of Vikramâditya, love or poetry was gone. But he speaks of Vikramâditya in such a way as to clearly show that the former was never a contemporary of the latter but that the latter was so much prior to the former that he had come to be looked upon as the traditional patron of poets. The wail is exactly like that which was given expression to by much later poets. This, on the contrary, is strong evidence, in my opinion, for putting Subandhu not earlier than A. D. 500, *i.e.*, at least a hundred years later than Chandragupta II, if we suppose with Dr. Bhandarkar and others that he was the traditional

Vikramâditya. I therefore firmly believe that *Vasubandhu°* and not *cha Subandhu°* must be the correct reading. And the objection that "a Buddhist monk would not accept office" can very well be answered by saying with Dr. Hoernle that the term *sâchivya* does not necessarily refer to the ministerial office but may simply mean "companionship" or "friendship."

In this connection it is important to read the following, which has been gleaned by Dr. Takakusu from Paramârtha's *Life of Vasubandhu.*—"King Vikramâditya of Ayodhyâ, North India, was first a patron of the Sâṁkhya School, but afterwards a patron of the Buddhism on account of Vasubandhu's success in religious activity. He sent his Crown Prince (Bâlâditya) to Vasubandhu to learn Buddhism, and the queen too became one of his disciples. When he came to the throne, king Bâlâditya, in conjunction with his Queen-mother, invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyâ and favoured him with special patronage."[1] Now, who were this Vikramâditya and his Crown Prince Bâlâditya? Dr. Takakusu takes Vikramâditya to refer to Skandagupta, and says simply that Bâlâditya was his successor, whosoever he may be. Mr. V. A. Smith identifies them with Skandagupta and his nephew Bâlâditya, known as Narasiṁhagupta from the Bhitarî seal, thus setting aside the distinct statement of Paramârtha that Bâlâditya was the son and not nephew of Vikramâditya.[2] Prof. Pathak agrees with both Dr. Takakusu and Mr. Smith in taking this Vikramâditya to-be Skandagupta but regards Bâlâditya whom he, like the latter, identifies with Narasiṁhagupta, as the immediate successor of Skandagupta, setting aside Puragupta, father of Narasiṁhagupta mentioned in the Bhitarî seal. I think it is not justifiable to accept Paramârtha's testimony only partially, or to frame any theory contrary to the evidence of the Bhitarî seal. In my opinion, the Vikramâditya alluded to by Paramârtha can be no other than Chandragupta II. Skandagupta was not the only Gupta prince who bore the title of Vikramâditya. Chandragupta II also was styled Vikramâditya. And that he is the Vikramâditya referred to by Paramârtha is rendered certain by the hemistich quoted by Vâmana and the note appended to it by him. For Vâmana distinctly gives us to understand that the patron of Vasubandhu was a son of Chandragupta. Thus we require a king, who, according to Vâmana, was Chandragupta, and, according to Paramârtha, Vikramâditya. Chandragupta II only can answer to this description, as he is Chandragupta and had, we know, the title Vikramâditya. Any other conclusion would lead us to confusion as Prof. Pathak's, I am afraid, does. For, following Dr. Takakusu in taking Vikramâditya to be Skandagupta, he accepts Vasubandhu's date, *viz.*, A. D. 420-500, proposed by the former and yet says with Vâmana that the son of Chandragupta, who is represented to have just ascended the throne and who according to him is Kumâragupta, was also the patron of Vasubandhu. Kumâragupta, we know from the Bilsaḍ inscription,[3] must have come to the throne not later than G. E. 96=A. D. 414, the date of this inscription, *i.e.*, Vasubandhu had distinguished himself as a literate six years earlier than A. D. 420, the date of his birth, according to Dr. Takakusu, which Prof. Pathak accepts. The conclusion, in my opinion, is therefore irresistible that the Vikramâditya mentioned by Paramârtha is Chandragupta II, and not Skandagupta. And the question now arises: who was the son of this Chandragupta-Vikramâditya, who has been referred to as Bâlâditya by Paramârtha? Can it be Chandraprakâśa? After having seen that he is of the Gupta family it will not be difficult to reject such a supposition. Knowing as we do what the names of the imperial Guptas were like, it is inconceivable that Chandraprakâśa could have been the proper name of any Gupta sovereign. Can it then be Kumâragupta? This question, I am afraid, cannot satisfactorily and with certainty be answered. But I think he was probably not Kumâragupta. For he is already known to us as Mahendrâditya and cannot in all likelihood be Bâlâditya. Who can this Bâlâditya then be? In this connection it is worth while to turn our attention to certain inscribed clay seals, which the late

[1] *Jour.* R. As. Society, for 1905, p. 44.

[2] *Early History of India*, pp. 292-3.

[3] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. iii, p. 42 ff.

Dr. Bloch discovered during his excavations at Basarh, the ancient Vaisalî, nearly eleven years ago.[4] The most important of these seals bears the following inscription :—

(1) *Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Chandragupta-*
(2) *patnî Mahârâja-śrî-Govindagupta-*
(3) *mâtâ Mahâdevî śrî-Dhru-*
(4) *vasvâminî.*

Here the great queen Dhruvasvâminî is mentioned as the wife of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Chandragupta and mother of the *Mahârâja* Govindagupta. The names Chandragupta and Dhruvasvâminî are an unmistakable indication of their being Chandragupta II and his wife Dhruvadevî, whose names we find mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. As the names of both Chandragupta and his son Govindagupta are mentioned in the seal, both must be supposed to be living at that time if the seal is to be supposed to have any significance. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the wife of one king and mother of another, and there is nothing special in the fact if both did not live and were not kings at one and the same time. I am therefore inclined to believe that Chandragupta and Govindagupta were both living when the seal of Dhruvasvâminî was impressed on the clay piece. Chandragupta, as he is called *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, was, of course, the paramount sovereign, and Govindagupta was holding some province under him, probably the district about Basarh, as the title *Mahârâja* shows. But let us proceed a step further and ask why, if Kumâragupta was also a son of Chandragupta and Dhruvadevî, his name is omitted and that of Govindagupta alone mentioned. The name of the latter only is specified because I think he was *Yuvarâja*. For in the seal of a queen it is natural to expect the names of her husband the king and her son who is heir-apparent to the throne.

Now, it is worthy of note that none of the seals found at Basarh speak of any place or district except Vaisâlî and Tîrabhukhti, the district of which Vaisâlî was the headquarters. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that the seals were not attached to letters come from outside Basarh, whatever Dr. Bloch has said to the contrary. Again, if they had really come from other districts, they would not have been all found together in one room, as was actually the case, but would have come to light in the different parts excavated. I suspect that the place where the seals were found was that of a potter who was, perhaps, the only person entrusted in Vaisâlî for preparing seals. When these seals were prepared, he must have naturally caught hold of some stray pieces of clay and impressed them with the seals to test them. This explains, I think, why some clay pieces have more than one seal impressed on them, which are apparently unconnected with one another. That this place belonged to some potter, receives confirmation from the fact that "the seals were found mixed up with fragments of pottery." I have, therefore, no doubt that the seals here found all belonged to officials and private individuals connected with and residing in Vaisâlî. Some of the seals of the former class have the following on them: *Śrî-Yuvarâja-bhaṭṭâraka-padîya-kumârâmâty-âdhikaraṇasya*—" Of the office of the Kumârâmâtya of His Highness the Crown Prince" and (2) *Yuvarâja-bhaṭṭâraka-padîya-bal-âdhikaraṇasya*—" Of the Military office of His Highness the Crown Prince." This shows that the district of Tîrabhukti with Vaisâlî as its capital, was held by the Crown Prince during the reign of Chandragupta II, to whose time all the seals belong, as Dr. Bloch rightly supposes. This also is quite in keeping with the supposition made above that Govindagupta's name is mentioned in his mother's seal also, because he was the ruler of the province round about Basarh. All things considered, Govindagupta appears to be the *Chandragupta-tanaya* alluded to in the verse quoted by Vâmana and also the Bâlâditya, son of Vikramâditya (Chandragupta II), mentioned by Paramârtha.

The latest date for Chandragupta II is G.E. 93 = A.D. 411, supplied by a Sânchi inscription, and the earliest date for Kumâragupta is, as stated above, A.D. 414. Govindagupta-Bâlâditya has, therefore, to be placed between A.D. 411-14. It is difficult to say why he had such a short reign. He may have been ousted by his brother Kumâragupta or he may have died a natural death and without any heir.

[4] *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report* for 1903-4, p. 101 ff.

PERSIAN GRAMMAR IN SANSKRIT.

BY PROF. V. S. GHATE, M.A., POONA.

Two treatises bearing the name of *Pârasî-prakâśa* have been already noticed. One is the *Pârasî-prakâśa* of Vedâṅgarâya dealing with astrological topics, such as the methods for converting Hindu into Mahomedan dates and *vice versâ*. The book is apparently intended for astrologers knowing Sanskrit but not Persian. It is dated 1565 Śaka = A.D. 1643, and was written to please the then Moghul Emperor Shah Jahân.[1]

Another book of the same name but by a different author deals with Pârasî words explained in Sanskrit. The author is Vihârî-Śrî-Kṛishṇa-dâsa-Miśra, who wrote the work for the Moghul Emperor Akbar.[2] The same author wrote another treatise bearing the same name, but dealing with the grammar of the Persian language.[3] The colophon at the end of the MS. runs thus:—

Iti Śrî-mahî-mahendra-śrîmad-Akabara-Śâha-kârite Vihârî-śrî-Kṛishṇa-dâsa-kṛite Pârasîka-bhâshâyâḥ Prakâśe kṛit-prakaraṇaṁ samâptam. The same colophon with the different names of the *prakaraṇas* or chapters is found at the end of the corresponding chapters in the work, except at the end of the chapters on Indeclinables, where we have . . . . *vihârî-kṛite Dama dâsa-virachite* . . . . . which must be very probably the scribe's mistake. *Kṛite dama* is very probably Kṛishṇa.

That this Akbar, for whom the work was written, cannot be any other than the great emperor, follows from the fact that he was reputed to have encouraged Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit Pandits, and in his reign many translations of Sanskrit works into Persian were made; while nothing like this is known regarding the second Akbar, one of the nominal emperors succeeding to the throne after the death of Aurangzeb. The point is, however, quite settled by the date of the MS. I have before me, which is Saṁvat 1852 or A.D. 1717; whereas Akbar II ruled from A.D. 1806 to A.D. 1837.[4] The same is confirmed by the following internal evidence. On page 7 of the MS. in the chapter on Syntax, the author gives two illustrations—*E' Hazarate Śâhe Jalâluddîn dasta-gîra Śava merâ dar dînaduniâ* (Oh, Akbarshah, the glory of religion, be the supporter of my hand, here and in the next world). A few lines below, we have *Śâha Jalâluddîn azadâlatikhud Kaliyugarâ Satyayuga Kardâ* (King Akbar, the glory of religion, turned the Kali-yuga into the Satya-yuga, by the force of his justice). Now, here, the author must be referring to the emperor by whom he was asked to write the work; and the title Jalâluddîn or the glory of religion has been applied to none but the great Akbar, who was conspicuous by his toleration of all religions and sects.[5]

This work is evidently written for the use of Sanskrit Pandits not knowing Persian. It aims at enabling the Pandit of the day to have some elementary knowledge of the language just sufficient for the purpose of ordinary conversation and other practical purposes.[6] This is quite clear from the cursory and slipshod manner of dealing with the different topics and the choice of instances from words of everyday use. The author being himself a Sanskrit Pandit and writing for men of the same class, makes use of the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar, not employing even a single Persian term. He remarks to the same effect just at the beginning of the work—'*na atra saṁjñâ—grahaḥ* | *kvachid-apekshayâ saṁskṛita-saṁjñayâ eva kârya-siddhervakshyamânatvât.*' (No technical terms

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[1] See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS.*, for 1882-83 The MS. is, at present, in the Deccan College Collection of MSS.

[2] See Dr. Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86. The MS. is preserved in the temple of Śântinâtha, Cambay.

[3] A MS. of this I have recently secured from Mr. Gopal Moreshwar Sathe of Poona, on which my observations are based.

[4] See p. 329 of *The Mahommedan Dynasties*, by S. Lanepoole.

[5] See Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 538; also Blochmann's *Aini Akbari*, Vol. i, p. 183. This reference I owe to Prof. Shaikh of the Dekkan College, to whom I am also indebted for the meanings of several Persian words.

[6] The first leaf of the MS. has on its blank side a title in Persian characters—'*Sarphvanaho phârashî-prakâśa.*' (A light of Persian accidence and syntax.)

are required to be understood here, as our purpose is served, where necessary, by the Sanskrit technical terms.) The author is not content with showing his Sanskritism in this respect only. In the main arrangement of the subject, also, he follows the order of Sanskrit grammar (as we have it, for instance, in Bhaṭṭojî Dîkshit's *Siddhânta-kaumudî*). Thus the first topic is the *Saṁdhi*, which he has disposed of, with one remark, *Na saṁdhi-kâryaṁ Pârasîka-bhâshâyâṁcha*, which is followed by *arthât prakṛityâ tishṭhati iti prakṛiti-sandhireva atra balavân*, all this meaning that there is no *saṁdhi*, as such, in the Persian language, or in other words, the hiatus prevails. As for *visarga-saṁdhi*, the author remarks that there is nothing like *visarga* in the language.

Two points are noteworthy as regards the method of treatment. First, the author imitates Sanskrit writers in first giving very short statements corresponding to *sûtras* or aphorisms and next their full explanations followed by illustrations. Thus, in the chapter on declension, while explaining the form of the nominative plural, the author proceeds thus : *âphtâb jas iti sthite "jaso hâ" Pârasîka-śabdât parasya jaso hâ-âdeśo bhaavti âphtâbhâ*. (We have the noun *âphtâb* 'the sun' + the termination *jas*; then the rule is '*hâ* takes the place of *jas*'; *i.e.*, after a noun in the Persian language, *hâ* is substituted for *jas*. Thus the form of the nominative plural of *âphtâb* is *âphtâbhâ*.)

The second point to be noted is that the author, all through the work, takes the Sanskrit language as the basis, as it were, and attempts to derive everything Persian therefrom. Thus, as the illustration above shows, the author would not give all the terminations of declension in the Persian language and say that a noun is thus declined, but he takes his stand on the Sanskrrit termination *jas*, and says in Sanskrit technical terms that *hâ* is substituted for *jas*. This procedure he follows everywhere, and though in some cases ridiculous, it becomes very interesting and instructive in certain cases, where a striking analogy between the two languages is easily marked. Thus, for instance, in the chapter on numerals, the author says : "*ekasya yaka*," *eka-śabdasya yaka iti âdeśo bhavati Pârasîka-bhâshâyâm* (in Persian, *yaka* is substituted for *eka*). So also, for *dvi* (two), we have *dû* ; for *tri* (three), *se* (perhaps analogous to *tisṛi*) ; for *chatur* (four), *châhar* or *châr* (which is exactly the Marâṭhî word for four) ; for *pañchan* (five) *pañj* ; for *shash* (six) *śaś* ; for *saptan* (seven) *haphta* ; for *ashṭan* (eight) *hasta* ; for *navan* (nine) *nuh*; and so on.

After having disposed of the *saṁdhi*, as said above, the author deals with the following topics in order: numerals (*saṅkhyâ-prakaraṇa*), declension of nouns (*śabda-prakaraṇa*), indeclinables (*avyaya-prakaraṇa*). After this, he remarks, *Pârasîka-bhâshâyâṁ strî-pratyayâ na dṛiśyante* (in Persian, there are no terminations to form feminines). Then he proceeds to syntax (*kâraka-prakaraṇa*), in which he illustrates the various meanings of the cases. In connection with the Instrumental Case, he remarks: *Pârasîka-bhâshâyâṁ kartari tṛitîyâ na dṛiśyate* । *anukta-karturabhâvât* । *ukte kartari prathamâ vibhaktireva bhavati* (in Persian, we never have the Instrumental used to denote the agent, as the agent or doer of the action is never indirectly expressed ; and as for the directly expressed agent, the nominative is always used). And to the same effect we find the remark made towards the end of the same chapter, '*Pârasîke karmaṇi âkhyâta-pratyayo na dṛiśyate*' (no verbal termination of the Passive is met with in Persian).

Next comes the chapter on compounds, which he mentions to be six, *i.e*, *Avyayîbhâva*, *Tatpurusha*, *Dvandva*, *Bahuvrîhi*, *Karmadhâraya*, and *Dvigu*. In Persian, as in Sanskrit compound words, case-terminations are omitted. Thus, '*Akbarśâharâ hukum=hukumeakbarśâh*' (Akbar's order). Here also the dissolutions of the compounds are given in Sanskrit Thus, *bad feal yasya sa bad-feal duḥ-karmâ iti arthaḥ* (one whose actions are bad). So also *nek-amal* means 'one whose actions are good.' No *Dvandva* (copulative) compound as such is met with in Persian. An instance of the *Avyayîbhâva* compound is *jâyebemagas* = (Sanskrit) *nir makshikaṁ*, which means 'a place without even a fly.'

Then comes the chapter on *Tad-dhita* or secondary suffixes, wherein we come across many interesting words. The author begins thus :— '*Apatyezâdah* । *nâmnaḥ apatyârthe zâdah pratyayo bhavati Pârasîka-bhâshâyâm* । *śâhasya apatyain Śâha-zâdah* (the termination *zâdah* is added to nouns, to denote a son. Thus *Śâhzâda* = a son of the emperor). The termination *î* is added in the sense of 'born therein'; thus we have, *Kâbulî*, *Gandhârî*, *Rûmî*, *Arabî*, *Pheraṅgî*, *Chînî*, *Hindustânî*, and so on. The same termination is also added in the sense of 'following the religion laid down by'; thus we have *Mahammadî* (= *Mahammadena prayukto dharmo asya iti*), *Dâudî* (following the religion of Dâud or David), *Îsâyî* (from Îsâ = Jesus), *Mûsâyî* (from Mûsâ = Moses), and so on. The termination *vân* is added in the sense of 'the protector of'; thus, *fîlavân* (elephant-keeper), *gâvavân* (a cow-herd), *bâgavân* (a garden-keeper). Many more suffixes are mentioned with illustrations and their Sanskrit equivalents, but, for want of space, I must be content with mentioning only a few more interesting words. Thus, *dâniś-mand* (learned), *hunar-mand* (accomplished), *gil-î* (earthen), *khâk-î* (dusty), *bâd-î* (windy, cf. Sk. *Vâta*), *âhan-î* (of iron), *chob-î* (wooden), *jamâd-ât* (minerals), *nabâd-ât* (vegetables), *haivân-ât* (animals), *zar—gar* (gold-smith), *âhan-gar* (iron-smith), *sabzî-faroś* (vegetable-seller), *kohân-faroś* (one who sells saddles), *saṅga-tarâś* (one who works in stone), *but-tarâś* (one who makes idols), *sandûk-chah* (a small box), *deg-chah* (a small cooking pot), *zana-k* (a contemptible woman),[7] *rind-k* (a contemptible fellow), *dera-tar* (later),[8] *zûd-tar* (sooner), *khub-tar* (more beautiful), *mulâyam-tar* (softer), *subuk-tar* (lighter).[9] The chapter is closed with the remark *yathâ-darśanaṁ Taddhita-pratyayâḥ vidheyâḥ* (the secondary suffixes are to be made use of, as they are met with).

Then comes the chapter on verbs. There is no dual number in Persian, says the author, as already remarked by him in connection with nouns. There is no Âtmanepada also. Here, also, he gives the Sanskrit terminations, *tip*, *anti*, *etc.*; and then says that these are changed to the corresponding terminations in Persian. So also with regard to the roots. He first mentions the Sanskrit root and then remarks that it is changed to the corresponding root in Persian. Thus, *bhû-dhâtoḥ śavad iti âdeśo bhavati vartamânâdau vibhaktau parataḥ* (*bhû* is changed to *śavad*, when followed by the terminations of the present tense, etc.). In giving the Persian equivalents for Sanskrit roots, the author has sometimes not been very careful. Thus he gives Persian *âśâmad* for Sanskrit *pâ*; but I think it more corresponds to Sanskrit *â-cham* in form as well as in meaning. So also *niśînad* more corresponds to *ni-shîd* than to *upa-viśa*, whose equivalent it is stated to be by the author. In one place, the author has committed a grammatical blunder which would not have us entertain a high opinion of his knowledge of Sanskrit. Persian *gupht* is the equivalent for Sanskrit *brû*. Then explaining the future form, he says, *khâhad-gupht bravishyati iti arthaḥ*, forgetting that *bravishyati* is not allowed by Sanskrit grammar. In some cases the resemblance between Sanskrit and Persian roots bearing the same sense, is interesting. Thus :—

Sk. *lih*	= Per. *lesîd*	Sk. *khâd*	= Per. *khorad*
Sk. *grah*	= Per. *gîrad*	Sk. *â-yâ*	= Per. *âyad*
Sk. *vas*	= Per. *bâsad*	Sk. *mṛi*	= Per. *mîrad*
Sk. *chi*	= Per. *chînad*	Sk. *kṛisha*	= Per. *kasha*
Sk. *bandh*	= Per. *bandad*	Sk. *tap*	= Per. *tâbad*, and some more.

In this chapter on verbs, the author has given a long list of roots with their forms in the different tenses, and here, too, the principle which has guided him in the choice of roots is practical utility. One point to be noted in this connection is that the prefix of the present tense is always given by the author to be *me* instead of *mî*; thus we have *meśavad*, *megiristand*, *etc.*; *mî* is the older and more Persian way; while *me* is more Indian; and this is as we should expect in the case of the writer of this book.

[7] Cf. the Sanskrit suffix, *ka* in a similar sense. [8] Cf. the Sanskrit '*tara*' forming the comparative degree.
[9] Cf. Sanskrit '*subhaga-tara*.'

The next and the last chapter deals with *kṛit* or primary suffixes. Thus, the termination *ah* (*ahaṅ* stated in the *sûtra* by the author) is added to roots to form nouns denoting agent. Thus :—Per. *kunandah* = Sk. *kartâ* (doer), Per. *Śinvandah* = Sk. *śrotâ* (one who hears), and so on. So also we have, *âdam-khor* (*âdam*, *â mekhorad* = one who eats men, *i.e.*, a demon), *halâl-khor* (lit. one who eats what is lawfully obtained), *harâm-khor* (lit. one who earns his livelihood by unlawful means), and so on. The chapter and the treatise are closed with the remark, *yathâdarśanaṁ pratyay-âgama-âdeśa-varṇa-vikâra-nâśa-viparyaya-vibhâshâ-vidhayaḥ sani(?saṅkhyâ) śabd âvyaya-kâraka-samâsa-taddhit-âkhyâta-kṛitsu yathâkâmaṁ kalpanîyâḥ*, which means that suffixes, augments, substitutes, and other changes are to be understood everywhere, as they are met with in the language.

DAKSHINI PANDITS AT BENARES.

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M. A., C.I.E., CALCUTTA.

BENARES is in Northern India, yet the Paṇḍits of the South have the greatest influence there, and this influence they are not only exerting at the present moment but have exerted for centuries past. Benares is the home of Kanaujiyâ and Sarbariyâ Brâhmaṇs but their influence in the city and its environs does not count for much in matters relating to religion and culture. This appears to be rather strange and the riddle quite worth solution.

If anyone examines the manuscripts available at Benares,—and these count by thousands and tens of thousands,—he will be struck not only by the enormous quantity of modern Sanskrit literature but also by the fact that most of this was written at Benares, and by Paṇḍits from the South, specially by a few distinguished families of Mahârâshṭra Brâhmaṇs.

To trace the origin of this influence of the South at Benares would really be the history of Sanskrit literature for the last four centuries in all provinces of India with the exception of Bengal and Eastern India, which have a history of their own. The great Paṇḍit, who infused southern ideals at Benares in all matters relating to Hindu life and Hindu religion in preference to northern ideals current in Kanauj, Kâśî, Mithilâ and Bengal, was Nârâyaṇ Bhaṭṭa, an intellectual giant who not only wrote a vast number of Sanskrit works but organised the colony of Southern Brâhmaṇs at Benares, travelled far and wide and founded a family of Paṇḍits who hold their pre-eminence even up to the present moment. An authentic history of Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa's family is likely to clear much of the obscurity in which the history of Sanskrit literature during the Muhammadan period is now involved. Rao Sahib Viśvanâth Nârâyaṇ Mâṇḍalik has done a great service by publishing in his edition of the *Vyavahâra-mayûkha* a genealogy of this family. But genealogy is not history, and it is well known that historical works are very rare in India. Though histories are rare, biographies of historical persons rarer, and biographies of scholars rarer still. In the present case we have got a history of this family written by a distinguished member of the family themselves. The work is entitled *Gâdhivaṃśânucharitam* and the author is Śaṃkara Bhaṭṭa, the second son of Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and a man as distinguished in learning as his father. By the courtesy and good offices of my late lamented colleague Mahâmahopâdhyâya Gôvinda Śâstrî of Benares, I have a copy of that work made for me. The first leaf is missing and the work comes abruptly to an end. It is full of inaccuracies and omissions. The abrupt closing does not detract much from its historical value, for in the last chapters, Saṃkara was indulging in grief over the loss of a promising nephew, but the loss of the first leaf is a serious one as it prevents our seeing the real founder of the family.

But this loss has to a certain extent been made up by Mâṇḍalik, who says in his *Upôdghâta* :—

श्रीमद्दक्षिणदेशेऽगस्त्यइवासीत् स भट्टगोविन्दः
तत्सूनुः श्रीरामेश्वरभट्टोऽभूत् स सर्व्वदिक् ख्यातः
तत्पुत्रः श्रीनारायणभट्टो जयति सूर्यवद् भूमौ
तत्सूनू रामकृष्णभट्टो रामैकशरणतां यातः

Mâṇḍalik got this from ज्योतिष्टोमपद्धतिं by Râmakṛishṇa. So Gôvinda-Bhaṭṭa, belonging to the Gâdhi or Viśvâmitra *Gotra* and a Ṛigvedî Brâhmaṇ studying Âśvalâyana *Śâkhâ*, was a Paṇḍit well known in Southern India, but his fame did not spread in the North. We also note from Nârâyaṇa's commentary on *Vṛittaratnâkara* written in A.D. 1545 that Govinda's father was Aṅgadeva-Bhaṭṭa and his father Nâgapâśa. Govinda flourished about the middle of the 15th century when the Bahmanis were fighting hard with the Hindu empire of Vidyânagara (Vijayanagar).

But his son Râmeśvara flourished in troubled times. The Bahmani empire came to an end and was parcelled into five different sultanates during the eighties of the century. Râmeśvara was a young man then, just finishing his education. The second leaf of the *Gâdhivaṃśânucharita* opens with a panegyric on Râmeśvara Bhaṭṭa. He was handsome in appearance, bold in speech, patient, pious, charitable, affable, and very learned. He was strong in *Mîmâṃsâ*, in Grammar, in Logic, and in Philosophy. He wrote a poem entitled ***Râmakutûhala*** in order to eclipse the fame of Śrîharsha's *Naishadha*. The book has not yet been found. Aufrecht does not speak of any other work by Râmeśvara. But Râmeśvara had a number of very distinguished pupils of whom I will speak later on. He seems to have written other works as hinted in an obscure passage in *Gâdhivaṃśânûcharita* after speaking of ***Râmakutûhala***. The passage is given in exactly this form in my manuscript :—

तात्पर्यस्य च दर्शनं निशिखिलविथाना यशलोकने मौलेः तु कतः क्रियात्कौन्ति सुराचार्योऽपि चांदोलनं ॥ १४ ॥

A great opportunity presented itself to Râmeśvara in early life, of teaching the various *Śâstras*. There was in his neighbourhood a learned *Saṁnyâsî* who taught many pupils. His name was Srî-Kṛishṇâśrama. But he was raised to the dignity of the *mahant* or the head of the monastic establishment to which he belonged. His multifarious duties now interfered with the study of his pupils, and they flocked to Râmeśvara for their education, at Pratishṭhâna or Paiṭhaṇ on the Godâvarî. Râmeśvara's College on the sacred river, the poet says, looked like a camp of Râma; for the poet throughout speaks of Râmeśvara as an incarnation of Râma. Râmeśvara was very strict in his observances of caste rules. He introduced the ***Râmamantra*** in Brâhmaṇic worship. His influence increased in the country and the Sultan of the newly formed Nizam Shahi Dominions was anxious to secure him to his side by granting him rights, privileges, and other favours.

Learned Paṇḍits always claimed the power of working miracles, and the claim was accepted not only by Hindus but often also by Muhammadans. Zâfar Malik was at this time an influential officer in the Ahmednagar State, and his influence was the greatest in the district of Pratishṭhâna. One of his youthful sons was suddenly smitten with leprosy. Medical aid of all sorts was invoked, but was of no avail. The young man was seriously thinking of committing suicide by a fall from a height when some one advised him to take the broken victuals of Râmeśvara. Râmeśvara was at first very unwilling to offer him such things without a command from the High; but that command soon came in the form of a dream. Râmeśvara made the young Muhammadan observe Hindu regulations and gave him what was considered a medicine. The young man recovered and the fame of Râmeśvara was at its height. Nizam Shah wrote under his golden seal a letter to Râmeśvara, inviting him to court. The messenger arrived at Pratishṭhâna and Râmeśvara though unwilling, at last consented to go. But the result of the interview is not given. But the fact that he did go appears from a description of his journey to Kolhâpur in order to worship the great goddess Mahâ-Lakshmî. On his way he had a great adventure with the ghost of a learned Brâhmaṇ, whom he subdued and who escorted him to Kolhâpur, the condition being that Râmeśvara would burn a blanket belonging to the ghost and the ghost would become his son. The pilgrimage to Kolhâpur being over, Râmeśvara journeyed to Vidyânagar, then under the rule of the famous Kṛishṇarâya. Râmeśvara lived at the house of Kṛishṇa-Bhaṭṭa *oṁ tat sat*, a class friend of his and a spiritual guide of the Râjâ. The Râjâ hearing from all sides of the learning of Râmeśvara was anxious to make

a gift of elephants, horses, etc., to him, but Râmeśvara knew that a gift of elephants and horses is not allowed in Śâstras. Unwilling to accept it, he left the place one fine morning for a pilgrimage to Dvârakâ. On the way a son was born to him in the month of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1435, *i. e.*, March 1514. This boy later on became famous as Nârâyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa. Râmeśvara lived for four years at Dvârakâ, teaching *Mahâbhâshya* and *Sureśvaravârtika.* Then he came back to Pratishṭhâna where he was given a great ovation. He lived there for four years and then left it for good for Kâśî. A second son Śrîdhara was born on the way and a third at Benares. All the three were married at Benares. Râmeśvara was advanced in years when Nârâyaṇa was born; so when he came to Benares, he was a pretty old man.

His principal students were :—

(i) Ananta Bhaṭṭa, *Chittala* of Konkan.

(ii) Dâmodara Sarasvatî.

(iii) Mâdhava Sarasvatî.

The last two were great travellers and great teachers. Mâdhava was the teacher of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî.

(iv) Maheśa Ṭhakkur, an inhabitant of Tirhoot or Mithilâ, wrote a commentary on Pakshadharamiśra's works entitled *Tattva-chintâmaṇy-âlôka-dar-paṇa.* He is the founder of the present Darbhangâ Râj family. It is said that he got the Râj as a gift from the last king of Mithilâ belonging to the Brâhmaṇ dynasty of which the first king was Kâmeśa. The grant is said to have been confirmed by Sher Shah and Akbar. A letter written by Maheśa Ṭhakkur to Târkika Chûḍâmaṇi, which is another name of Raghunâtha Śiromaṇi, is to be found in a copy of *Vaivasvata siddhânta,* composed at Nadia in A.D. 1529 now deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His mother was Dhîrâ, his father was Chandrapati, and his elder brothers were Mahâdeva Bhagîratha, and Dâmodara. He was the leading spirit of Mithilâ in the 16th century.

(v) Govinda Dvivedî of Gujarât. He studied the *Mahâbhâshya* along with Śrîdhara, second son of the teacher.

(vi), (vii) Âchârya Bhaṭṭa Tulasî and Viśvanâtha Tulasî. Both became teachers of *Vedânta,* in Southern India.

(viii) Śankara Miśra Śarmâ of Kanauj. Commented upon the *Gîta-Govinda* at the request of Śâlinâtha, perhaps another commentator. The commentary was entitled *Rasamañjarî.* (See Aufrecht's *Cat. Cat.*)

Besides these, Râmeśvara had students from Draviḍa, Gurjara, Kânyakubja, Western India, Mâlava, Braja, Mithilâ, Himâlayan regions, Karṇâṭa, Utkala, Kauṁkaṇa, Gauḍa, Andhra, Mathurâ, Kâmarûpa, and other parts of India.

Râmeśvara died in good old age and his wife became a *Satî.*

Nârayaṇa-Bhaṭṭa had now become a great teacher. He learned all the *Śâstras* :—*Śruti, Smṛiti,* and the six *Darśanas* from his father. He wrote the *Tristhalî-Setu* for the conduct of worship in the three places of pilgrimage: Gayâ, Kâśî, and Prayâga. He held constant disputations with the Paṇḍits of Eastern India on points of religious interest, and he was always successful in supporting the ideas of Southern India. An instance is given in the manuscript :—

यश्चोत्तरेश्वरसमीरितपत्रपूर्वं विज्ञापनाद्ग्रहणवीक्षणनिर्णयार्थं ॥ प्राच्यैर्विवादमनिशं प्रविधाय
मासं श्रीदाक्षिणात्यमतमूर्जिततां निनाय ॥ १३ ॥

At a *Śrâddha* ceremony at Dehli in the house of Toḍar Mal, he worsted in disputation all the Paṇḍits of Gauda and Mithilâ with Vidyânivâsa at their head. Toḍar Mal was a patron of Sanskrit literature, having caused excellent compilations in *Smṛiti, Jyotisha, Vaidyaka,* and other *Śâstras.* He was long the Subahdar of Bengal. It is not unnatural, therefore, that he should invite Bengal Paṇḍits at a *Śrâddha.* Vidyânivâsa was then the leading Paṇḍit at Navadvîpa.

He was a Banerji. His father Vidyâ-vâchaspati is described as one whose feet were constantly rubbed by the crown jewels of Râjâs. Vidyânivâsa's sons were all well-known Paṇḍits. His second son was the author of *Bhâshâ-parichchheda*, a standard work of *Nyâya* all over India. His third son was in high favour with Bhâva Siṁha, the son of Mân Siṁha of Amber. Even Vidyânivâsa had to yield his palm to Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa and the point at dispute was one of vital importance to modern Brâhmaṇism. The ancient Ṛishis declare that at the performance of a *Śrâddha*, live Brâhmaṇs are to be fed with the cooked food offered to the manes. Bengal holds that this is impossible in the Kaliyuga as there are no Brâhmaṇs worthy to feed. And so they feed symbolical Brâhmaṇs (Brâhmaṇs made of *kuśâ*—grass). The southern people hold that the injunctions of the *Śâstras* should be respected, and live Brâhmaṇs are to be fed.

Among his principal students were :—

Brâhmendra Sarasvatî and Nârâyaṇa Sarasvatî. The first presented an address to Vidyânidhi Kavîndra (of whom later on), about 1640. The latter wrote many *Vedânta* works about the end of the 16th century (See *Cat Cat.*).

Nârâyaṇa wrote two great works on *Smṛiti*. One is *Dharma-Pravṛitti*, current in Southern India, and the other, *Prayogaratna*, current in Northern India. He wrote a commentary on *Vṛittaratnâkara* in 1545 (see *Ind. Of. Cat.*, pages 303-4) and not in 1680, as Aufrecht says. He wrote an independent work on prosody entitled *Vṛittaratnâvali* and also a *Prakṛita Vivṛiti* of *Abhijñâna Śâkuntala*. Besides these already mentioned, *Cat. Cat.* registers 28 other works, some of which are undoubtedly parts of *Tristhalî-setu* and *Prayogaratna*. Among these are *Mîmâṁsâ* works a commentary on *Śastra-Dîpikâ* and *Kârikas* on Mâdhavâchârya's *Kâlanirṇaya*. He wrote on a variety of topics in *Smṛiti*, such as consecration of gardens, tanks, wells, etc., phallic emblems of Śiva, images of gods, and so forth.

As a *Gṛihastha* he seems to have been peculiarly averse to the renunciation of the world. Though a teacher of *Vedânta*, he often had disputations with celebrated monks. He is said to have defeated in arguments, Nṛsiṁhâśrama, the writer of so many *Vedânta* works, Upendrâśrama who was universally regarded as the first man of his time, and even Madhusûdan Sarasvati, whose fame rests on his successful assailment of the Naiyâyikas. Paṇḍits all over India looked upon him as their patron, and he spared neither money nor pains to help them. This position was held for a long time by his son Śaṅkara and after Śaṅkara, by Vidyânidhi Kavîndra. Tradition says that he often worked miracles. Once upon a time, there was a severe drought in India, and at the request of the Great Moghul he brought down rain in twenty-four hours. The Great Moghul pleased with his wonderful powers granted him permission to re-erect the temple of Viśvesara at Benares destroyed about 100 years before. The spacious and beautifully ornamented temple destroyed by Aurangzib's Subahdar about 1670 and converted into a mosque is pointed out as the temple erected by Bhaṭṭa-Nârâyaṇa. Mâṇḍalik supports this tradition, but the *Gâdhi-vaṁśâ Ânucharita* is silent on the point.

Not only was he a voluminous writer, but he was a great collector of manuscripts. Manuscripts copied by him and copied under his directions are often found in different libraries. He died at a ripe old age, leaving three sons well established in the world, and a number of grandsons, many of whom became famous writers in the 17th century.

Nârâyaṇa's eldest son was Râmakṛishṇa, who wrote *Jîvat-pitṛika-nirṇaya*, *Kôṭi-hômâdi-paddhati*, *Aśvi-stuti-vyâkhyâna* (*Gâdhivaṁśânucharita*), *Jyotishṭoma-paddhati* (Mâṇḍalik), *Ananta, vrat-odyâpana-prayoga*, *Mâsika-śrâddha-nirnaya*, *Śivaliṅga-pratishṭhâ-vidhi*, *Vâstu-śânti-prayoga* and *Rudra-snâna-paddhati* (Aufrecht). His principal student was Trimalla Bhaṭṭa. He died at the age of 52, leaving three sons, Dinakara, Kamalâkara, and Lakshmaṇa. His wife Umâ died a *satî*.

The third son of Nârâyaṇa was Govinda who died at the age of 48. He was very fond of his mother, whom he served all through life, following her shortly after her death. He left four sons :—Lakshmî Bhaṭṭa, Indra Bhaṭṭa, Râma Bhaṭṭa and Brahma Bhaṭṭa. The second son of Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa. His disciples were :—

(i) Mallâri Bhaṭṭa

(ii) Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita, the author of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî*. He taught through his son Dâmodara :—

(i) Kshîrâbdhirâma

(ii) Abhayaṅkara

(iii) Viśvanâtha Dânte

He wrote *Dharmâdvaita-nirṇayachandrikâ*, *Mîmâṃsâ-bâlaprakâśa*, *Vidhi-rasâyana-dûshaṇa Vratamayûkha*, *Śâstra-dîpikâ-prakâśa*, *Sarva-dharma-prakâśa* and *Śrâddha-kalpa-sâra*. Of these *Dvaitanirṇaya* is very well known. Śaṅkara does not speak much of himself in his work. He simply says that in his old age he was very much distressed by the loss of a dear nephew of his. The book as a matter of course does not record his death. That he was a very prominent figure at Benares is evidenced by *Kavîndra-chandrôdayâ*. It calls him the head of the Paṇḍit community of India and a great patron of learning. We do not know when he died,—we know from *Prâyaśchitta-mayûkha* of his son Nîlakaṇṭha that he had four sons, Dâmodara, Nṛisiṃha, Nîlakaṇṭha (all of whom he mentions in his *Gâdhi*°) and Raṅganâtha. Perhaps Raṅganâtha was dead when the book was written.

Leaving the Gâdhi family now to pursue their career of authorship with the greatest vigour in the seventeenth century, I now proceed to give an account of the man who wielded the greatest influence in India during the middle of the seventeenth century. This is Vidyânidhi Kavîndra. He was a *Saṁnyâsî*, but he was a very rich man. He had a *Bhaṇḍârî* or treasurer named Kṛishṇa-Bhaṭṭa. Both the master and servant were good poets and men of the highest Hindu culture. They migrated from the banks of the Godâvarî, perhaps owing to the annexation of the remnant of Nizam Shahi dominions by the Great Moghul Shah Jehan. Kavîndra is mentioned as wielding the highest influence after Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa and Śaṅkara for the good not only of Paṇḍits and Brâhmaṇs but of Hindus in general. Shah Jehan gave him the title of *Sarvavidyânidhâna*. So he is known as *Sarvavidyânidhâna-Kavîndra-Sarasvatî*. He was a great collector of manuscripts. It is not known how many thousands of manuscrips he collected, but all the manuscripts of his library bear in large, bold, and beautiful Devanâgarî character his signature *Sarvavidyânidhâna-Kavîndra-Sarasvatî*. That signature is a guarantee for the correctness and accuracy of the manuscript. It is not known when and how the library was broken up, but the manuscripts of his library can now be procured in Benares, and they are preferred by all Paṇḍits to other manuscripts.

At that time Hindus suffered great hardship owing to the exaction of a pilgrim tax from all votaries that came to Benares and Prayâga. Kavîndra, as the acknowledged head of the Paṇḍits of Benares, was greatly moved by the hardship of his co-religionists. He journeyed to Agra with a large following and proceeded to the Diwânâm, and there he pleaded the cause of the Hindu pilgrims with so much force of eloquence that all the noblemen of the court from Irâk, Irân, Badakshan, Balkh, Kabul, Kandahar, Kashmere, Panjab, and Sindh were struck with wonder. Shah Jehan and Dara Shikoh relented and abolished the tax. That was a day of great rejoicing throughout Hindu India. It was on this occasion that the title of *Sarvavidyânidhâna* was conferred upon him. When he came back to Benares with his new title and with the prestige of success, addresses poured upon him from all parts of India. About a hundred of these in Sanskrit were collected together by his Bhaṇḍârî, who also presented one with 35 verses; and two copies of

the collected addresses are to be found in the Asiatic Society's Library. The addresses are both in prose and poetry. Some are long and some are very short. One of the most notable persons in presenting an address was Viśvanatha Tarkapañchânana. Another address was by Gaṇeśa of the Dharmâdhikârî family of Benares. Brahmendra Sarasvatî was another. Bhaiyâ Bhaṭṭa was a fourth. Paṇḍit Vîreśvara of Kûrmâchala also presented an address.

These addresses set forth the excellences of Vidyânidhi. Some praise his liberality, some his eloquence, some his boldness, others again his deep knowledge of the *Śâstras*. One sets forth the various *Śâstras* he had studied, and another the various acts of charity to which he contributed. The most touching of the addresses is that which was presented by the students at Benares who looked upon him as their Earthly Providence.

After Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa, Śaṅkara and Vidyânidhi, the man who exerted his influence all over India was Gâgâ Bhaṭṭa or Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa. He came at a time when the Marâṭhâs were a fighting and rising nation. The political importance of the Marâṭhâs had its reflex influence on the colony of Paṇḍits of the Mahârâshṭra country at Benares. The Marâṭhâ peoples looked upon them as their law-givers and they also felt a pride in their being of the Mahârâshṭra extraction. Gâgâ-Bhaṭṭa was the son of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Râmakṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa and great grandson of Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. His father and his uncles wrote many books specially in *Smṛiti*. His cousins, too, were writers of note, but he outdid them all. He completed a series of *Smṛiti* works, left unfinished by his father Dinakara Bhaṭṭa. He wrote a commentary on the Jaimini *Sûtras*. Kumârila wrote his commentary on *Śabara-Bhâshya*, in verse, for one quarter of the first chapter only. Gâga-Bhaṭṭa continued the work, and wrote a commentary in verse for the whole work. This commen. tary is entitled *Śivârkodaya*. But Gâgâ Bhaṭṭa is not so much known for his erudite works as for the influence he exerted on Society. He it was who restored Śivaji the founder of Marâṭhâ greatness, to the Kshatriya caste and performed his *Abhisheka* ceremony as an independent sovereign. Śivaji greatly revered him for his learning and piety. He it was who first raised the question of caste elevation, which at the present moment is exercising the minds of all Hindus. He had a loud voice and his eloquence was greatly admired. He was a *Mîmâṃsaka* of the first class and a great writer on *Smṛiti*. He wrote on *Alaṁkâra* and even on *Vedânta*.

His great successor was Nâgojî Bhaṭṭa, who lived to a great age and whose influence over the people of Benares was very great. There is no branch of Sanskrit literature in which he did not distinguish himself as a commentator. His commentaries on works of the Pânini School of grammar are of the highest authority. He wrote on *Alaṁkâra*. He wrote on the *Tîrthas* He wrote on *tithi*. He wrote on *yoga*. He wrote on *Mîmâṃsâ*. He wrote on *Râmâyaṇa*. He wrote on *Sâṃkhya*. He wrote on *Vedânta*. He always encouraged students, and stories of Nâgojî's encouragement of students may yet he heard in Beneres. Even at his old age he enjoyed life heartily and mixed with all classes of men. He died about the time when Benares came under British Protection by a vote of majority in the Governor-General's Council about 1775. The Râjâ of Pratâpgaṛh in Oudh gave him his livelihood and he gratefully acknowledges his obligation to the Râjâ in the opening verse of every one of his works.

His pupil and successor was Vaidyanâtha Pâyaguṇḍe, otherwise called Annaṃ Bhaṭṭa, also a voluminous writer on *Vyâkaraṇa* and *Smṛiti*. His commentary on the *Vyavahâra-Khaṇḍa* of *Mitâksharâ* is still the standard work of the Benares School of *Smṛiti*, and as such very much respected in the civil courts of British India.

In 1791 the Benares Sanskrit College was established and the Dakshiṇî Brâhmaṇas were its principal professors. Even at the present moment the Dakshiṇî element preponderates in the staff of that College.

The seven Dakshiṇî families that swayed the Hindu Society at Benares during the last four hundred years are :—

(i) The Sesha family—though they came from the Tailanga country they are to all intents and purposes now Mahârâshṭra Brâhmaṇas.

(ii) The Dharmâdhikârî family which appears from the genealogy given by Maṇḍalik to have come to Benares about the same time as the Gâdhis.

(iii) The Gâdhi or Bhaṭṭa family, of which Râmeśvara came to Benares in 1522 and about whom and whose family something has been said in the first part of the paper.

(iv) The Bhâradvâja family.—The founder of this family was Mahâdeva, the son-in-law of Nîlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, son of Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa. He was the author of *Dinakarî*, the commentary on *Siddhânta-Muktâvali.* It is not known when they came to Benares, but since Mahâdeva's time they always held a high position among the Paṇḍits of Benares, the last representatives being Mahâmahopâdhyâya Dâmodara Śâstrî of the Benares and Mahâmahopâdhyâya Govinda Śâstrî of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

(v) The Pâyaguṇḍe family, of which Vaidyanâtha was the most prominent figure.

(vi) Chaturdhara or Chowdhuri family, which did much in advancing the cause of Hinduism at Benares. Nîlakaṇṭha Chaturdhara wrote a commentary on the whole of the *Mahâbhârata.*

(vii) The Puntamkar family.—Mahâdeva of this family wrote a large commentary on Bhavânanda Siddhânta-vâgîśaś, commentary on the *Dîdhiti.*

It would be interesting to collect all the Sanskrit works written by different members of these six families for the last four hundred years.

They will be an extensive library—they will show the direction in which Hindu Society moved, and they will also incidentally give us much information about the political history of India from Hindu sources, which is not much available at the present day.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BHAKTI SCHOOL.

[THE following is a very brief summary of the lecture delivered by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in July last at the Literary and Philosophical Club, Poona. The views herein expressed have been set forth at full length and with all the necessary evidence in the introductory part of the Vaishṇava section of his work on the *Bhaktimârga,* which he has recently contributed to the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.*—D. R. B.]

The ancient Vedic hymns containing prayers to the different gods were in later times succeeded by others in which the poets endeavoured to grapple with the problems about man, the world, and god. Speculation of this kind was continued in the times of the Upanishads and the main doctrines arrived at concerned the freedom of the human heart from passion and the existence of the supreme Lord of all possessing personality and of Brahmâ which was the impersonal essence of all things. The first part in later times developed itself into Buddhism, Jainism, and such other atheistic systems setting forth mere moral elevation or righteousness as the goal to be attained. The second part was taken up by the *Bhakti* or Bhâgavata School. We have epigraphical evidence of the existence of the school during the three or four centuries before Christ. The age of inscriptions is determined by the form of the characters in which they are engraved. The earliest inscriptions known to us are those of Aśoka, who ascended the throne about 258 B.C., as is determined by the occurrence of the names of five contemporaneous Greek princes. The first of the inscriptions indicative of the existence of the Bhakti School must have been engraved about the beginning of the second century before Christ. It speaks of a *pûjâ* stone wall (*śilâ-prâkâra*) for the worship of *Bhagavat* Saṁkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva.[1] Another, a few years later, mentions the erection of a flagstaff with an image of Garuḍa at the top in honour of Vâsudeva, the god of gods, by Heliodora (Heliodoros) a resident of Takshaśilâ, an ambassador of

[1] The stone is now in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. But it was found at Ghosûṇḍî, to which place it was removed from Nagarî, where it is believed to have been originally lying (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. lvi, Part I, p. 77 ff.).

Aṁtalikita (Antalkidas) who was a Bhâgavata, *i.e.*, worshipper of Bhagavat or belonging to the Bhâgavata School.[2] A third inscription of about the beginning of the first century before Christ existing at Nâṇâghâṭ contains an adoration of Saṁkarshana and Vâsudeva.[3] Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* on Pâṇini, who wrote about 150 before Christ speaks of Vâsudeva as the worshipful one. A Buddhistic work of the third century before Christ mentions Vâsudeva and Baladeva as the deities worshipped by specific sects. The *Mahâbhârata* is a work containing a collection of pieces of varied antiquity, some pre-Christian and others post-Christian, and it is difficult to determine the age of any particular piece; but, with the help of the dates supplied us by the inscriptions and the two books mentioned above, we are in a position to determine when a certain specific religion that it speaks of in a section of the 12th book arose. That religion is the *Ekântika-dharma* or the religion of single-minded devotion or monotheism. It prevailed among a tribe of the Yâdavas known by the name of Sâtvatas. The origin of this religion is traced to certain *Ṛishis*, and from them it was transmitted to others until it reached Bṛihaspati, who had for his pupil a prince of the name of Vasu-Uparichara. This last instituted a horse sacrifice in which Bṛihaspati was the priest. No animals were killed on the occasion, and the oblations were prepared in accordance with the precepts of the *Âraṇyakas*, which works contain the *Upanishads*. Hari was the god worshipped. He took away the oblation offered to him without showing himself to Bṛihaspati. He was, however, seen by Vasu-Uparichara. Bṛihaspati was angry, when three persons explained to him that Hari was to be seen only by those who adored him and were devoted to him. They themselves had once gone to the White Island (*Śveta-dvîpa*) to see Hari or Nârâyaṇa, performed austerities for a hundred years, but were told that Hari was not to be seen by them, as they were not his devotees and performed only austerities. This story shows that a new reformed religion had sprung up, which, like Buddhism, condemned animal sacrifices and the practice of austerities, but, unlike it, set forth the adoration of God as the way to emancipation. Then Nârada is mentioned as having gone to the same White Island; and, as he was a devotee, Nârâyaṇa showed himself to him and explained the Bhâgavata religion, which prevailed among the Sâtvatas. The Supreme God according to this faith is Vâsudeva; from him sprang Saṁkarshaṇa or the individual soul; from him Pradyumna or the mind; and from him Aniruddha or egoism. By certain devotional practices, men attain Vâsudeva through the intermediate stages of Aniruddha, etc. This *Ekântika* religion was, it is further stated, revealed in the *Hari-gîtâ* or the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*, at the time when the armies of the Pâṇḍavas and Kurus stood face to face and Arjuna's heart failed him. The *Ekântika-dharma* of the Sâtvatas was, therefore, the system taught in the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*; and the theistic reform we have spoken of as opposed to the moral reform of Buddha is that effected by that work.

The main problem of this work was how to achieve freedom from passion. A man is born to act. He acts with certain desires; these desires become strengthened in him by frequent actions and he becomes a slave to them. Therefore *Gîtâ* teaches that actions should be done, not from the desire of attaining any fruit from them, but because the *Brahman* or the universal order requires him to do them, *i. e.*, the action should be performed as a duty or it should be dedicated to God and performed to propitiate Him.

Now to perform an act because it is a duty or to please God is a matter of the greatest difficulty to an ordinary man who is full of desires and passions, but he is able to conquer these by the grace of God when he adores Him incessantly by *bhakti* or devotion. *Bhakti* or devotion to God is, therefore, the way to attain God and serenity or freedom from passions.

The Vâsudeva religion or the *Pâñcharâtra* system, as it was afterwards called, was based on the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*. Megasthenes mentions Heracles as the god worshipped by the Sourasenoi, in whose country was situated Methora or Muthurâ and the River Jobares or Jamna flowed. The Sourasenoi correspond to Śaurasenas, *i.e.* here the Sâtvatas, and thus Vâsudeva to Heracles; and thus the religion of Vâsudeva flourished on the evidence of Magesthenes, in the fourth century before the Christian era.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1909, p. 1087 ff; for 1910 p. 141 f; *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. xxiii, p. 104 ff.

[3] *Arch. Surv., West. India*, Vol. v, p. 60.

Soon after, Vâsudeva was identified with Kṛishṇa whose name had been handed down as that of a holy seer and who was the founder of a *Gotra* or family. In later times, he was identified with Nârâyaṇa who had become an object of worship as the source of all *Naras* or men and as lying on the primeval waters; and in still later times, with Vishṇu, who was originally a solar deity but had afterwards acquired the attributes of supreme godhead. About the first century of the Christian era, the boy god of a wandering tribe of cow-herds of the name of Âbhîras came to be identified with Vâsudeva. In the course of their wanderings eastward from Syria or Asia Minor, they brought with them probably traditions of the birth of Christ in the stable, the massacre of innocents, etc., and the name Christ itself. This name became recognised as Kṛishṇa, as this word is often pronounced by some Indians as Krishṭo or Kushṭo. And thus the traditional legends brought by the Âbhîras became engrafted on the story of Vâsudeva-Kṛishna of India. These are the five elements that constitute the Vaishnavism of modern India.

CORRESPONDENCE.

My dear Mr. Bhandarkar,

Many thanks for your drawing attention to my notes on the dates of Subandhu and Diṇnâga and sending me an advance proof of Dr. Hoernle's letter dated 13th June 1911. Dr. Hoernle says, "I have no prints or manuscripts of Vamana's work at hand, but it would seem that M. M. Haraprasad's reading of Subandhu is a mere conjecture not supported by any manuscript evidence." When I wrote the note, I had the *Kâvyamâlâ* edition of the *Kâvyâlaṁkârasûtravṛitti* before me. That edition is based on two manuscripts, one from Jaipur and the other from Benares. The Jaipur manuscript had *Vastubandhu*, while the Benares manuscript had *Subandhu*. So in my note I said, "there may be an objection to this that in some manuscripts the word is not 'Subandhu' but 'Vastubandhu." Thus I had some manuscript evidence to support me when I wrote that paper. Since the appearance of Mr. Pâṭhak's paper on 'Kumâragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu,' I have consulted the only manuscript available in Calcutta, namely, the Sanskrit College manuscript *Alamkâra* No. 24. It has *Sabandhu* with a little waving at the lower end of the right hand vertical line which I take to be the subscript *U*; though in the same page there is an instance of a more pronounced subscript *U*. In Ânandarâma Baruâ's edition it is *Vastubandhu*. The Vidyâvilâsa Press edition of Vâmana's work, published at Benares under the supervision of Dr. Thibaut, it is *Subandhu*. The edition is based on three manuscripts, though differences of reading are not given. The three manuscripts all come from Southern India. Two belong to the two learned editors and the third to Vâtsya Sundarâchâryya of Viṭṭhalapura. So I have five manuscripts to support the reading *Subandhu*. I have not seen the Vâṇîvilâsa Press edition used by Mr. Pâṭhak. It would be interesting in this connection to consult other manuscripts of the work which are to be found in other parts of India and Europe. Mr. R. Narasimhachar of Bangalore says, in his letter to me dated the 28th October 1911, that with regard to Dr. Hoernle's letter in the *Indian Antiquary* for September, he had referred Dr. Hoernle to some manuscripts in which the reading *Subandhu* is clearly given.

Reading carefully the verses which preface Subandhu's story of Vâsavadattâ, it appears patent to everyone who is acquainted with Subandhu's punning style that he himself mentions Chandraprakâśa in its *ślishta* form *Himakarodyota* in the 5th verse. For in that verse he says that the good man, who makes other people's merits appreciated, becomes more fortunate and popular. The moonshine, which makes the *kumuda* flower blossom, bears enhanced beauty. Now moonshine *Himakarodyota* is Chandra prakâśa. So it is a proper name, and I am glad that Dr. Hoernle agrees with me.

Dr. Hoernle has done a service in pointing out that the hemistich in Vâmana's work must have been written shortly after the death of Chandragupta, that is, about A. D. 413, though I think shortly before, as a reigning prince would not be described as *Chandraguptahtanaya*. In that case, by the showing of Dr. Takakusu, the hemistich cannot refer to Vasubandhu who lived for 80 years between A. D. 420 and 500, and Mr. Pâṭhak depends on that eminent Japanese Scholar for referring the verse to Vasubandhu.

Dr. Hoernle doubts that there was a civil war after the death of Chandragupta.

But the prefatory verses of *Vâsavadattâ* give a support to my contentions. In the sixth verse Subandhu is very bitter against *khalas*—the wicked—who are more mischievous than snakes. In his usual punning way he says that serpents are *nakula-dveshî*—enemy to weasles; at the same time *na-kula-dveshî*—not envious to the family; while the wicked are *Sa-kula-dveshî*—hard even to the family of their victims. In the seventh he

compares the wicked with owls, who have an eye even in the darkest of darkness. Then again in the eighth, he says that the wicked though they destroy the merits of others become the more sinful; just as clouds which cover the rays of the moon become darker thereby. What do all these signify? The word *Śaśiruk* in the eighth verse again means *Chandraprakâśa*, though the unhistorical commentators do not say so. The tenth verse is well-known throughout India and is in the mouth of every Paṇḍit. It says that on the death of Vikramâditya, love of Art and Poetry is gone. Upstarts are flourishing; everybody's hand is on his neighbour's throat. What does this mean, unless it means a revolution in which the author did not fare well on the death of Chandragupta-Vikramâditya?

I agree with Dr. Hoernle that history does not speak of such a revolution. But does history record all the revolutions in India? Has the history of India advanced so far? If not, may not these wailings of a sensitive poet signify a change for the worse? Read the hemistich with the prefatory verses of *Vâsavadattâ*, and the inference is irresistible that the changes of the times were ruinous to Subandhu and his party.

The word *Sachiva* may have a derivative meaning of companionship or friendship, for the word comes from *Sachâ*, meaning *saha*, a word common in the Vedas. So the word *Amâtya* also comes from *Amâsaha*. But the radical meaning was long lost sight of. Kâlidâsa, who flourished within a century after Subandhu, uses the word *Sachiva* always in the sense of ministers.

Tena dhûr-jagato gurvî sachiveshu nichikshipe.[1]
Grihini sachivaḥ sakhî mithaḥ, etc.

Mr. Pâṭhak translates *dishtyâ kritârthaśrama* as deserving congratulation on the success of his efforts. If it were the phrase *dishtyâ vardhase*, it would have meant congratulation; but simply *dishtyâ* means "fortunately." He was successful in his endeavour, not in obtaining sovereignty, because, that is not the subject treated of here; but he was successful in giving encouragement to literary men, that is, in being *âśraya*" to *kritadhiyaḥ* or men of talent.

Calcutta. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI.

BOOK-NOTICE.

KÂVYAPRAKÂŚA WITH PRADÎPA AND UDDYOTA: edited by VASUDEVA SHASTRI ABHYANKAR. Ânandâśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, No. 66.

SLOWLY and steadily has the Ânandâśrama Press been putting forth its work, at so much a day, and already our shelves are groaning with the weight of the volumes it has published. We have used the word *groaning* intentionally. The varieties of types in which the volumes are printed are often rather too big and make the volumes more bulky and heavy than they ought to be, and, therefore, less handy. The Shastri and the Pandit might perhaps be thereby enabled to spare the use of spectacles for some time longer than they would otherwise be, at least in reading these volumes. But their case is different. They have got only a few books to possess. Other scholars already feel the want of shelf-room for the numerous books they are obliged to have in these days of multiplication of books.

The present volume is the latest in the Ânandâśrama Series. *Kâvyaprakâśa* is a classic of *Alaṃkâra* literature and there has been no end to the writing of commentaries on it. Yet only a few years ago there were no good editions of either the text or of good commentaries on it available in print. Maheśachandra's first edition, satisfactory as it was, was then out of print. Kamalâkarî, a not very satisfactory commentary, was available only in a lithographed edition. The only edition which students of the work could avail themselves of was the one with Maheśvara's commentary. But the commentary was far from satisfactory. Then followed Vâmanâchârya's edition, in which the text was, as in a *variorum* edition, smothered in the excerpts from various commentaries.

Perhaps the best commentary on the *Kâvyaprakâśa* is the *Pradîpa* with its two commentaries, the *Prabhâ* of Vaidyanâtha and the *Uddyota* of Nâgojibhaṭṭa. The Nirnayasâgar Press gave us some time ago an edition of the Pradîpa with the Prabhâ, but unfortunately without the *Vritti* or the explanatory prose portion of the text. Of Nâgojibhaṭṭa's commentary only the portions dealing with *Ullâsas* I, II, VII, and X were available in the editions of those *Ullâsas* published by the late Prof. Chandorkar for the sake of the B. A. students of Bombay University. The present edition, therefore, of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* with the *Pradîpa* and the complete *Uddyota* is quite welcome. It would have been still more welcome had Mr. H. N. Apte, who has got the management of the Series in his hands, seen his way to include explanations of the instances cited in the text from the *Udâharaṇachandrikâ* of Vaidyanâtha. Nâgojibhaṭṭa does give explanations, but not so fully.

In the publications issuing from the Ânandâśrama learned critical introductions by the editors, dealing with such matters as the date and position of a book and its author in the literature to which they relate, are not to be looked for. But it is better to have no such introduction than to have an unscholarly or uncritical one. The present editor does not seem to be aware even of the fact that the *Kâvyaprakâśa* was left incomplete towards the end by Mammaṭa and was completed by Râjânaka Allaṭa But a correct text, correctly printed, of a work not already printed at all or printed incorrectly, is what we have a right to expect from the Press; and we have certainly got that in the volume before us, and that in itself is a great deal. For the sake of correctness of spelling, however, we would have wished that the word "*Uddyota*" had not been printed as "*Udyota*," as it has been in so many places. (Cf. Roth Rechtschreibung in Veda, pp. 101-2, *Z.D M G. XLVIII.*) The list of Errata (*suchanâ*) too is not as complete as it should have been.

SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR.

Bombay.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

(*Continued from Vol. XL, p. 176*)

3.—Hânsî Stone Inscription of Prithvîrâja [Vikrama]—Saṁvat 1224.

A translation, without a transcript, of this inscription by Captain E. Fell has been published in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 443-6, and a summary of it with full and elaborate remarks thereon by Lieutenant-Colonel Tod in the *Transactions, Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 154. But none of these attempts has proved successful, and a correct and accurate account together with a transcript of it is still a desideratum. No excuse is, therefore, needed to publish this record.

The inscription was originally found at Hânsî in the Panjâb, but regarding its exact original find-sopt there, Tod says as follows: "The inscription, which I obtained through the kindness of my friend Colonel Skinner, had been saved from the general wreck of these halls, by the materials being taken to erect a small Musleman place of worship; and this slab was built into the wall in a reversed position. It was afterwards presented to Marquis Hastings; but as it reached this nobleman at a very busy period of his career in 1818, I know not what became of it."[1] The inscription stone, strange to say, is now lying in the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh. Two excel'ent photographs of it had been sent four years ago by a person connected with this Museum to a Parsi gentleman in Poona, called Mr. Frenchman, who made them over to me. And it is from these photographs that I edit the inscription.

The inscription contains 22 lines of writing. The **characters** are Nâgarî. Attention may be drawn to the sign for *ṛi* occurring in °*ṛiksha-yûtha-patibhiḥ*, line 12. The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, but very great carelessness is shown in this respect. It is full of solecisms. We thus have *raṅgâni* instead of *raṅgân* in line 2, *vijaya-vara-kareḥ* instead of *vijaya-vara-kariṇaḥ* in line 8, and so on. In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are: (1) the use of *v* for *b* and (2) the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. With regard to **lexicography** we have only to note the *deśî* word *gaḍha* employed in line 11.

The record opens with an obeisance to some goddess whose name is unspecified. This shows that the inscription slab was originally in the temple of a goddess. Then follows a verse which invokes the blessings of the god Murâri. Verse 2 informs us that there was a king of the Châhamâna lineage called Prithvîrâja and his maternal uncle was one Kilhaṇa, who, according to the next verse, belonged to the Gûhilauta dynasty. The verse following tells us that thinking of Hammîra who had become the cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Âsikâ, doubtless Hânsî. From verse 5 we learn that Kilhaṇa erected a *pratolî*, i.e., a *pol*, or gateway which with its flags set Hammîra as it were at defiance. And near the gateway were constructed two *koshṭhakas* or granaries (verse 6). Then we have a prose line (lines 9-10) speaking of a letter sent to him by Vibhîshaṇa. Verse 7 with which the letter begins, says: "the lord of demons (Vibhîshaṇa) who has obtained a boon from Râma, the crest-jewel of the lineage of Raghu, respectfully speaks thus to Kilhaṇa staying in the fort (gaḍha) of Âsî." The next verse says: "In the work of building the bridge we both assisted the leaders of the monkeys and bears. And you yourself (Kilhaṇa) have written saying that to you the lord of Paṁchapura, a string of pearls and this city had been given by the Omnipresent (Râma)." In the verse following Prithvîrâja is compared to Râma and Kilhaṇa to Hanûmân. In verse 10 Vibhîshaṇa bestows nothing but conventional praise on Kilhaṇa. Verse

[1] *Transactions, Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 135.

11 refers to his having burnt Paṁchapura, and captured but not killed its lord. Verse 12 again is simply eulogistic, but, in the verse following with which the letter ends, Vibhîshaṇa requests Kilhaṇa to accept the string of pearls or even Laṅkâ but promise safety to him. Then again follows a prose line (lines 19-20) which by the way informs us that this string of pearls was presented by the ocean to Râmabhadra when he was intent upon constructing the bridge. Verses 14-15 state that there was one Valha who belonged to the Ḍoḍa race and who was a subordinate of Kilhaṇa and that his son was Lakshmaṇa under whose auspices the *praśasti* was composed. This is followed by the date which is Thursday the 7th of the bright half of Mâgha of the (Vikrama) year 1224.

It will be seen from the above account that this inscription is a *praśasti* or panegyric, and its object is to describe Kilhaṇa's conquest of Paṁchapura and its chief. Kilhaṇa was a maternal uncle and feudatory of the Châhamâna sovereign Pṛithvîrâja. This Pṛithvîrâja is not the celebrated Pṛithvîrâja who fought with and was captured by Shihâbu-d-Dîn Ghûr in A.D. 1192, as Tod supposes. Because, for this Pṛithvîrâja we have dates ranging only from A.D. 1182-92, whereas the date of our inscription is V.E. 1224 = A.D. 1167. Pṛithvîrâja of this record must therefore be the same as the Pṛithvîrâja who preceded Someśvara. Kilhaṇa, we are expressly told, was put in charge of the fort of Âsî or Âsikâ, *i.e.*, Hânsî, to check the progress of Hammîra, *i.e.*, of course the Muhammadan emperors. There can be no doubt that the Muhammadans were at this time attempting to pour into India. This is also clear from the Delhi-Siwâlik pillar inscription of V.E. 1220 = A.D. 1164 wherein the Châhamâna Vîsaladeva is represented to have exterminated the Mlechchhas and made Âryâvarta what its name signifies, *i.e.*, an abode of the Âryans.[2] It was, therefore, urgently necessary to put a stop to this by appointing a brave and clever personage to the charge of the Hânsî fort, especially as it was on the route to India. Tod says: "Asîgarh or Asîdurg is celebrated as the scene of contest between the Hindus and early Muhammedans. It was by this route, that most of Shahâbuddîn's attempts were made to wrest the throne of *Hind* from Pṛithvîrâja; and often did the warriors of the mountains of *Câbul* find their graves before Âsî. Even now it presents the appearance of a great sepulchre all around but especially to the west. The route was by *Pâchapattan*, the town of purity, on the Sutlej, to *Bhatner* and *Fateh-âbâd*, to *Âsî* and *Delhi*."[3] From these words of Tod's the importance of fortifying and maintaining the fort of Hânsî towards the close of the Châhamâna supremacy is quite clear; and what is equally clear is the necessity of keeping a strong hold on Pâchapattana on the Sutlej mentioned by Tod, which can be no other than Paṁchapura of our inscription. Probably the chief of Paṁchapura about this time did not owe fealty to the Châhamâna dynasty, and it was, therefore, absolutely indispensable to put him down and take possession of his city. This explains why the capture of Paṁchapura and its chief is considered so important in the inscription.

The *praśasti* was composed by one Lakshamaṇa, who was, we are told, a Ḍoḍa by race. The Ḍoḍas have been given a place by Tod in his list of thirty-six royal races of Râjasthân,[4] but he tells nothing about them. I believe they are the same as the Ḍoḍs or Ḍoḍias, a clan of the Paramâras. The province in Râjputânâ now called Hâḍotî was originally held by them and was wrested from them by the Khîchîs of Gagroṇâ, who in their turn had to give it up to the Hâḍâs after whom the province was so called. In the time of Mahmud Ghazni, Merat, Bulandsahr, *etc.*, were held by the Ḍoḍs, of whom Haradatta was the most pre-eminent. Ḍoḍs are now found as *Jâgirdârs* near Lâvâ in Tonk.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 218.

[3] *Transactions, Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 135.

[4] *Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân*, Vol. I, p. 108 (S. K. Lahiri & Co's edition.).

Text.[5]

1 ओं[6] ॥ देव्यै नमः ॥ वक्त्रं साक्षाद्वितीयो हिमगुरिति भुजं पारिजातस्य वल्ली काप्यन्यस्येति तुंगं स्त-
2 नतटमपरेभस्य कुंभस्थलीति । [7]मंथक्षुब्धार्ण्णवार्ण्णः प्रकटितपिहितश्रीणि पर्यायवृत्त्या लक्ष्म्या रंगानि तर्क्कैरनुप-
3 धि वि[मृ]शन्पातु युष्मान्मुरारिः ॥ १ ॥ चाहमानान्वये जातः पृथ्वीराजो महीपतिः । तन्मातुश्चाभवद्भ्राता कि[ल्ह]णः कीर्त्तिवर्द्ध (।)-
4 नः ॥ २ ॥ गुहिलौतान्वयव्योममंडनैकशरच्छशी । गांभीर्यौदार्यसौन्दर्यगुणरत्न[महो]दधिः ॥ ३ ॥ मत्वा हम्मीरवीरं निखिलव (।)-
5 सुमतीशल्यभूतं प्रभूतं योग्योसौ वीरगोष्ठीनिपु[णत]रमतिः शत्रुलक्ष्मीभुजंगः । प्रादाद्राजन्यचूडामणिकिरणगणासंजनिर्द्धूतपादो
6 भूपस्तस्मै प्रहृष्टो [8]विशदगुणनिधेरासिकादुर्ग्गमुग्रं ॥ ४ ॥ तस्मिदुर्ग्गे स्वबुद्धया[9] निखिलरिपुचमूमूर्द्ध्नि विन्यस्य पादं र[म्यप्रो]त्तुंगशृंगव्य[ति]कर-
7 वशतो भग्नमार्ग्गोष्णरश्मेः[10] । [रेरे] हम्मीर वीर क्व स तव महिमा निर्द्दिशंती ध्वजाग्रैर्दिव्याकारप्रतोली हृदयमिभुवो निर्मिता किल्हणेन ॥ ५ ॥ (।)
8 आस्तां तावत्प्रतोली तदुपविरचितं कोष्ठकद्वंद्वमेतत्प्रोच्चैरालानयुग्मं विजय[वर]करेः[11] शत्रुलक्ष्म्याश्च सद्म । मन्येस्यैवार्थिसार्थप्रकट-
9 सुरतरोः किल्हणस्य प्रकाशं मूर्त्तस्तुल्यस्कथंको जगति [विजयते] विक्र[मै]को न योग्यः[12] ॥ ६ ॥ ॥ किंच किमुच्यते तस्य प्रताप-
10 माहात्म्यं यत्कृते निशाचरचक्रवर्त्तिना विभीषणेनाप्येष प्रहितो लेखः ॥ तद्यथा ॥ लंकाया रघुवंशमौक्तिकमणे (॥)
11 रामस्य पादांबुज[ध्या]नाल्लब्धवरो[13] निशाचरपतिः सप्रश्रयः सादरं । दिव्यासीगद[व]र्त्तिनं दृढभुजं चंडप्रतापोद्धतन्सत्कीर्त्या[14] (॥)
12 धवलीकृतत्रिभुवनं श्रीकिल्हणं भाषते ॥ ७ ॥ कार्यं सेतुनिवंधने[15] र[घुप]ते रात्रिंदिवं संयतैः सार्द्धं वानरऋक्ष[यूथ]पतिभिः
13 साहाय्यमावां स्थितौ । तस्मात्पंचपुरा धि[पा]य विभुना दत्ता कि[लै]कावलिर्मह्यं सापि पुरी त्वया तु लिखितं [प]त्रं स्वहस्तांकितम् ॥ [८*]
14 पृथ्वीराजो महाराजो रामोसौ संशयं विना । हनूमान्निश्चितं वीर भवानद्भुतविक्रमः ॥ [९*] ॥ गुहिलोतान्वये जातस्तेन लूनं तवेदृशं । (॥)
15 कलिः कालो न कोप्यस्ति सत्यं धर्म्मपरायणः ॥ (१०) ॥ कथमन्यथा ॥ दग्धं पंचपुरं हताः [16]प्रति[भ]टा [17]वद्धुस्तदीशस्त्वया कंठे वीर निवेश्य वा[18]-
16 हु[युग]लं सन्नद्धवाजिस्थितः । एतत्सर्व्वमसांप्रतं तव पुनः सच्छौर्यविद्यानिधे संवर्द्धयोग्रविषद्रुमोपि महतां छेत्तुं न संयुज्यते ॥ १० (११)
17 उत्खातप्रतिरोपणं [कृतव]ता मालिन्यमुन्मार्ज्जितं सत्यं क्षत्रियपुंगवेन भवता कुंदावदातं यशः । प्राप्तं यावदयं नभस्तलमलं प्रद्यो-(।)
18 तते भास्करो यावद्भावभिदस्तथेयमवनिर्वारां निधिर्वर्त्तते ॥ ११ (१२) ॥ पुनः पुनः किमु [स्वे] स्वे वचस्तथ्यं शृणुष्व मे । स्वीकर्त्तव्याथवा लंका
19 देयं पत्रमथाभयम् ॥ [१३*] इयं चैकावली रत्नाकरेण सेतुवंधोद्यताय[19] रामभद्राय स्वगांभीर्यगुणं परिरक्षता उपायनीकृत्य दौ (॥)
20 कितासीत् ॥ ॥ अपि च डोडान्वये समभवत्किल वल्हनामा [20]सत्वैकभूर्निखिलशत्रुचमूनिहंता । श्री किल्हणस्य पदपंकजचंचरीक-(॥)
21 स्तस्याङ्गभूरनुपमो भुवि लक्ष्मणाख्यः ॥ १ (१४) ॥ सोत्र प्रशस्तिनिर्माणे भक्त्याध्यक्षपदे स्थितः [।] सर्व्वदा स्वामिचित्तज्ञो लक्ष्मणः सव्व लक्ष्मणः[21] ॥ [१५*]E
22 संवत् (॥) १२२४ माघ शुक्ल सप्तम्यां गुरौ (॥) निःपन्नेयम् ॥

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[5] From a photograph.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read °क्षुब्धा°.

[8] This ought to be विशदगुणनिधये, but will not suit the metre.

[9] Read स्वबुद्धया.

[10] Read रश्मौ.

[11] This ought to be विजयवरकरिण:, but will not suit the metre.

[12] The meaning of this line is not clear to me.

[13] Read पादांबुज° and °लब्ध°.

[14] Read °प्रतापोद्धतं सत्कीर्त्या.

[15] Read °निबंधने.

[16] Read प्रतिभटाः.

[17] Read बद्ध°.

[18] Read बाहु°.

[19] Read °बंधो°.

[20] Read °सत्त्वैक°.

[21] Read सर्व्वलक्ष्मा; but this will not suit the metre.

4.—Anâvâḍâ stone inscription of Sâraṅgadeva [Vikrama]—Saṁvat 1348.

This inscription was found early in 1904 when some excavations were being carried on by the Irrigation Department of the Baroda State at Anâvâḍâ, the old Aṇahilapâṭaka, nearly three miles from Pâṭaṇ in the Kaḍî division. It is now deposited, I am told, in the *kacheri* of the Vahivâṭdâr.

The record consists of twenty-four lines covering a space of 1′ 4⅝″ broad by 1′ 5¼″ high. The initial letters of the first seven lines have peeled off, but in all other respects the stone is very well preserved. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the verse at the commencement the whole of the record is in prose. As regards **orthography** it is sufficient to note (1) that a consonant following *r* is doubled and (2) that the sign for *v* is employed for *b* only once in °*m=udvibhrate* in line 1. In respect of **lexicography** may be noticed the words : (1) *prekshaṇî(ṇa)ka* and (2) *sthitaka* both occurring in line 7, and (3) *vyakti* in lines 9 and 21. The first means "theatricals," the second " a grant in perpetuity," and the third "specification of details." In lines 7, 9, and 10 occurs the word *palamâna*, the meaning of which is uncertain. It occurs in other inscriptions also, *e. g*, in a Chaulukya copper-plate grant of v. s. 1280 (above, Vol. VI, p. 197, Plate II, line 3), where it appears to be equivalent to *pûrva-pradatta* of the other grants of the same dynasty. Is *palamâna*, therefore, a mistake for *pâlyamâna ?*

The inscription opens with the well-known stanza with which Jayadeva's *Gîta-Govinda* commences. Then follows the date, which is Sunday the 13th of the bright half of Âshâḍha in the [Vikrama] year 1348. At that time *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Sâraṁgadeva was reigning at Aṇahilvâṭaka ; his *Mahâsaṁdhivigrahika Mahâmâtya* Madhusûdana was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing of documents, etc., and the Panch (*Pañchakula*) consisted of *Mahaṁta* Pethaḍa, and others, Pethaḍa being appointed by the king as keeper of the seal at Pâlhaṇapura (Pâlaṇpur). The inscription then proceeds to record the gifts that were made on the aforesaid date as well as previously, for the worship, offering, and theatricals before the god Kṛishṇa. The previous grants are first specified. They are : (1) *drammas* 180 in perpetuity by Karaṇa, (2) *drammas* 72 from the customs-house in perpetuity, (3) *drammas* 72, (4) *drammas* 36, and (5) *drammas* 48, four being for each *amâvâsyâ* day by Seṭh Devala, accruing from his Sikiri (?). The new gifts were made by the five-fold people of the town (*paṁchamukha-nagara*) consisting of (1) the Panch, (2) the Brâhmaṇas who are called Purohitas here, (3) the Mahâjanas, of whom some were *Sâdhu* (Sâhukâr), some *Śreshṭhî* (Seṭh), Ṭhakkura, Sonî (goldsmiths), Kaṁsâras (braziers), and so forth, (4) Vaṇijyârakas (Vanjârâs), and (5) Nau-vittakas (ship-owners). The new grants were : (1) half a *dramma* paid by the seller on one *dhaḍî* of madder (*mânjishṭhâ*), (2) one *dramma* paid both by the seller and buyer on one *dhaḍâ* of *solonum Melongena* (*Hinguḍî*), (3) some portion from each cart filled with grain, the nature of which is not clear, and (4) one *palî* from a *ghaḍâ* or jar of *ghî* by the seller.

It has been stated above that our inscription commences with the initial benedictory stanza of the well-known *Gîta-Govinda.* The *Gîta-Govinda*, we know, was composed by Jayadeva, who is supposed to have flourished in the last quarter of the 12th century and lived during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena.[22] And the fact that the stanza is quoted as the invocatory verse in our inscription shows that "the work had already within a century become *quasi*-sacred." Again, it appears from our inscription that there was a temple of Kṛishṇa existing in Anâvâḍâ long before the time of king Sâraṅgadeva to whose reign it refers itself and who no doubt belonged to the Vâghelâ dynasty. This is worthy of note, as we have not yet found any ancient temple dedicated to Kṛishṇa and hardly any reference given to such a one in old inscriptions. The only reference I know of is furnished by a Harsaudâ stone inscription of Devapâla of Dhârâ dated v. s. 1275, which speaks of an image of Kṛishṇa being put up by one Kesava near a temple of Śambhu.[23]

22 *Journal and Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng*, Vol. II, No. 5 (May, 1906), pp. 167-9.
23 Above, Vol XX, p. 312, l. 14.

Text.[24]

1 ।। वेदानुद्धरते जगंति वहते भूगोलमुद्बिभ्रते[25] दैत्यान् दारयते बालिं छलयते क्षत्रक्षयं कुर्व्व-
2 (ते) [।*] [से]तुं बंधयते हलिं[26] कलयते कारुण्यमातन्वते म्लेछान्[27] मूर्च्छयते दशाकृतिकृते कृष्णाय
3 (तस्मै न)मः ।। [१*] संवत् १३४८ वर्षे आषाढ शुदि १३ रवावद्येह श्रीमदणहिलवाटकाधिष्ठितमहारा-
4 (जाधि)राज श्रीसारंगदेव कल्याणविजयिराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महासांधि० महामा-
5 (त्य)[श्री]मधुसूदने श्री श्री करणादि समस्त मुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयतीत्येवंकाले प्रवर्त्तमानेऽमु
6 (नै)[व] स्वामिना पा[ल्ह]णपुरमुद्रायां नियुक्त महं० श्रीपेथडप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ[28] देव-
7 (श्री) [कृ]ष्णपादानां [पू]जानैवेद्य प्रेक्षणीकनिमित्तं[29] अर्म्मे[30] पलमानस्थितकस्य[31] तथा संप्रति महं
8 [श्री] पेथडप्रभृति[पं]चकुलेन तथा पंचमुखसमस्तनगरेणच कृतनव्यदेवदायस्यच शा-(।।)
9 सनपाट्टिका यथा ।। अर्म्मीकपलमानदेवदायस्य[32] व्यक्तिः ।। वृ० करण स्थितके द्र १८० तथा वृ(०)
10 मंडपिकायां स्थितके द्र ७२ तथा श्रे० देवलेन आत्मनः श्रेयोऽर्थं [33]पलमानआत्मीय सींकिरि[34]-
11 सत्क श्रीकृष्णपा[दानां] दत्त द्र ७२ तथा [35]तस्थद्र ३६ तथा अमावास्यां[36] २ स्थितके द्र ४ वर्षं प्रति जातं
12 द्र ४८ एवमेतत् पूर्व्वस्थितकं ।। सांप्रतं उपविष्टमहं श्रीपेथडप्रभृतिपंचकुलेन तथा पुरो०ध-
13 रणीधर । पुरो० सि[र]धर । पुरो० मोषादित्य । पुरो० हरिसर्म्म । सा० आभा । सा० हेमा । सा०महण-
14 सीह । ठ० तेजा । सा० मयधर । श्रे० साढल । श्रे० देवल । सा० समरा । सा० धणपति । श्रे० आसधर
15 सा० गुणधर । सा० भडसीह । श्रे० नाग[ड] । श्रे० सामत । सा० झांझा । सा० वयजलदेव । सा०कूंर-
16 पाल । सा० पदमसीह । श्रे० मदनसीह । श्रे० देवसीह भण शा० षेता । भण० गांधी । सा० जा[।।]-
17 ल्हण । श्रे० गुणराज । सा० केसव । सा० झंझा । श्रे० रतन । सा० त्रीकम । सोनी० अर्ज्जुन । सा०चांग-
18 देव । सा० दामर । कंसा० जयता । पूगी० तेजा । सा० केसव । सा० मूरा । सा० कुंदा । सा०नागपाल-
19 प्रभृति समस्तमहाजन । तथा सम[स्त]वणिज्यारक । तथा समस्तनौवित्तकप्रभृति पंचमुखन-
20 गरेण निजपूर्वजानां श्रेयसे देवश्रीकृष्णपादानां पूजानैवेद्यप्रेक्षणीकनिमित्तं[37] कृतनव्य-
21 देवदायस्य व्यक्तिः ।। मांजिष्टा धडी १ द्र०ऽ०।। विक्रेतुकामो ददाति तथा हींगुदा [38]बडा १ द्र०ऽ१
22 दायकग्राहकौ ददतः ।। कणश[क]ट १ पायली १ छाटडा १ पायली पा० । [39]घृततैलघडा १ प(।।)-
23 ली १ एतत् विक्रेता दधाति । एष समस्तदेवदायो आचंद्रार्क्कतारकं यावत् समस्तपंचमुखनग-
24 रेण दातव्यः पालनीयश्च ।।

TRAVENCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

IN the native state of Travencore in the Madras Presidency, the Archæological Department has been in existence since the days of the late Professor Sundaram Pillai, who published some of the inscriptions of the Vêṇâḍ kings first in the *Madras Mail* and eventually in the pages of this journal. After his death, the Archæological Survey does not appear to have come to an end. From Mr. Nagamiah's *Manual of Travencore*, pp. 176-7, it is clear that all the inscriptions of the State, which are 450 in number, have been already examined in a rough way.

When Mr. Gopinatha Rao was appointed Superintendent of Archæology in the State a few years ago, it was thought he would direct his energies to the publication of accurate transcripts and translations of the inscriptions of the State which had all been tentatively examined before his appointment was contemplated. We shall now see how he has discharged the duties entrusted to him. Eleven numbers of the Travencore Archæological Series have already been issued and more are promised. So that, judging from the quantity of work turned out, his achievement is certainly commendable.

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[24] From the original stone. [25] Read °मुद्बिभ्रते. [26] Read हलं.
[27] Read म्लेच्छान्. [28] There is some space left between the letters प and त्तौ.
[29] Read प्रेक्षणक°. [30] Read अर्म्मे. [31] Read पाल्यमान°.
[32] Read अर्म्मीयपाल्यमान°. [33] Read पाल्यमान°. [34] सींकिरि is probably a mistake for सीरक.
[35] Read तस्थ°. [36] Read अमावास्यायां. [37] Read °प्रेक्षणक°.
[38] बडा is probably a mistake for घडा or घडी. [39] Read घृत°.

Let us now examine the quality. In the first place as regards transliteration, an epigraphist is free to choose any system he likes, provided he uses it throughout. In this publication, proper care does not appear to have been taken to correct the diacritical and printer's mistakes. I have been able to notice a number of instances[1] where distinction has not been made between *t* and *ṭ*; *r* and *ṛ*; *ṅ*, *n*, *ṉ*, and *ṇ*. It may be thought that these are minor points which one need not trouble oneself about. The importance of a correct system of transliteration has been recognised by scholars, and it cannot be over-estimated. Epigraphical publications, to be of any real value, should, as far as possible, be free from errors of this kind. Else they mislead the readers instead of helping them.

A perusal of these publications will convince any one that their editor has criticised the views of others, very often without proper grounds. I propose to consider some of the arguments with which he assails the opinions of others.

On page 180, Mr. Gopinatha Rao writes, "Mr. Venkayya has separated the compound *tiruvayiṟu vâykkavuḍaiya pirâṭṭiyâr*, found in several inscriptions which describe the mother of Uttamasôḻadêva into *tiruvayiṟuvâykka* and *Uḍaiyapirâṭṭiyâr*. By itself the first part means practically nothing and the second has introduced a fictitious queen in South Indian history. The mistake is perpetuated in his *Annual Report*, year after year, by his successor, Mr. Krishna-śastri who also believes that the name of the mother of Uttamaśôḻa was Uḍaiyapirâṭṭiyâr. Such an expression *vayiṟuvâykkavuḍaiya* occurs in many places in Tamil literature, as for example, Rama is called *Kouśalaitaṉ maṇi-vayiṟu vâyttavaṉê* by Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ in his *Perumâḷ Tirumoḻi*."[2]

The charge here made against Mr. Venkayya is certainly clear enough, and no one can mistake it. It is, that he has by an unwarranted separation of the words *tiruvayiṟuvâykkavuḍaiya pirâṭṭiyâr* introduced into the history of the Chôḷas a fictitious queen. In so doing he did not even perceive that the first part had no sense whatsoever. I admit that the charge would be a grave one if it were true and Mr. Venkayya deserves to be taken to task for it. On the other hand, if it could be satisfactorily proved that the charge is a false one, I think it is the duty of Mr. Gopinatha Rao to acknowledge his blunder.

The passage referred to by Mr. Gopinatha Rao occurs in the inscriptions of the 11th century A.D., and it is impossible even for a beginner in South Indian Epigraphy to confound *ka* and *ta* in these records. The passage which actually occurs in the inscriptions examined by Mr. Venkayya is *Uttamaśôḻadêvarai-ttiruvayiṟu-vâytta Uḍaiyapirâṭṭiyâr Śembiyaṉ mâdêviyâr*. Unfortunately for Mr. Gopinatha Rao, the records that mention the mother of Uttamaśôḻadêva are not few. All these numerous records, without even a single exception, read as stated by me just now; and its meaning has been taken by Mr. Venkayya to be "Uḍaiyapirâṭṭiyâr Śembiyaṉ mâdêviyâr, the mother of Uttamaśôḻadêva." To be more literal, it only means "Uḍaiyapirâṭṭiyâr Śembiyaṉmâdêviyâr who had obtained in her blessed womb Uttamaśôḻadêva." It is this reading and this translation that are being "perpetuated" by Mr. Krishnaśâstrî in his *Annual Reports*. I doubt if any one would say that a meaning other than what Mr. Venkayya has given to the passage is possible.

If we separate the phrase as suggested by Mr. Gopinatha Rao into *tiruvayiruvâykkavuḍaiya* and *pirâṭṭiyâr*, the first part must necessarily go with *Uttamaśôḻadêvarai* which precedes it and the second with what follows. The meaning would then be "Pirâṭṭiyâr Śembiyaṉmâdêviyâr who would have to obtain in her blessed womb Uttamaśôḻadêva," a statement of what is to happen and not what has already occurred.

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[1] A few of the mistakes in diacritical marks and types are pointed out here. The *n* occuring in *Pavittiramâ-nikka*° (p. 162), *Ranakîrtti* (p. 159), *Tannir pandal* (p. 168), ought to be *ṇ* and the *n* in *Paraṉku* (p. 156), a d *mangala*° (pp. 169-170) ought to be *ṅ*. The *t* of *Jatila* (p. 155) *pirâttiyâr* (p. 162) should be *ṭ*. The lengths of vowels in *Ânaimalai* (p. 153), *Vîjayâbhishêa* (p. 167), and in several other words in pp. 162, 164 and 167 are not properly indicated; *îṅgaḷâśu* in p. 167 must be *tiṅgaḷ kâśu*.

[2] The words in italics are transliterations of passages given by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in Tamil.

In pp. 168-69 of his *Travencore Archæological Series*, Mr. Gopinatha Rao publishes, with a short introduction, a fragmentary inscription from Kanyâkumari, with text and translation. Here the king's name has been read as Râjakêsarivarman Râjarâjadêva, and this king has been identified with Râjarâja II. The date assigned for the record is A.D. 1167.

The preserved portion of the inscription commences with the words *perumbugat=Kôvirâja-kêsarivarman, etc.*, which is invariably how the historical introduction of Râjâdhirâja I beginning with *Tingaḷêrtara* ends. The geographical terms occurring in the record also furnish some internal evidence as to its date. The high regnal year must also have been utilised in arriving at the date of the king. The fact that the watershed erected during the king's reign was called after Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa is another point which an epigraphist would not omit to consider. It may be said here that the surname Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa was first borne by Râjarâja I and after him by Râjâdhirâja I. Besides, there is a considerable difference between the characters of the time of Râjâdhirâja I and those of Râjarâja II. All these must have been taken into account in fixing the approximate date of the king. But we have direct evidence to show that the record does not belong to Râjarâja II but only to Râjâdhirâja I. The very same inscription was copied in 1896 by Dr. Hultzsch, the Madras Government Epigraphist and in the list for that year the king's name is correctly given as Râjakêsarivarman Râjâdhirâja with *âdhi* in brackets which goes to show that the syllables *âdhi* are mutilated. Having suspected that the king's name had been misread, I solicited the permission of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, Southern Circle, to have a look at the impression of this inscription. On comparing the published transcript with Dr. Hultzsch's impression, I found that they are both identical, as the text of Mr. Gopinatha Rao from the west wall of the temple is identical with Dr. Hultzsch's No. 96 of 1896 which is also on the same wall. The only difference is that the words *ninṟa ellai=kkal[lu]kku=kkiḻukku=p* are omitted in Mr. Gopinatha Rao's text out of carelessness or oversight [3] It must be said that the passage is incomplete without these words and that the words *paṉṉirukôl nîḷamum* have no connection whatsoever with the western boundary with which they are forced to go in the translation.

When Mr. Gopinatha Rao identified the king with Râjarâja II, it must have struck him that the latter was a Parakêsarivarman and not Râjakêsarivarman as given in the record under notice. The difference surely called for some remark which we do not find in his introduction. Lastly, assuming that the record is one of Râjarâja II, he assigned A.D. 1167 for it. Now this yields A.D. 1136 for the accession of Râjarâja II It may be pointed out that this date is again ten years earlier than the actual date of his coronation.

No. VII of the *Travencore Archæological Series* is, according to the editor, one intended to supply the want of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions with plates. Here, he has, by the mere identity of the name Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ occurring in the four records, *viz.*, the Âṉaimalai inscription of A. D. 769-70 the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman and the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam and Trevandrum Museum epigraphs, arrived at the conclusion that all these must be referred to one and the same king. On page 155, he says that if the table given above, *i e.*, that furnished by the Sinnamanûr plates is examined closely, it becomes *apparent* that the Pâṇḍyas alternately bore the names Mâṟavarman and Jaṭilavarman (Saḍaiyaṉ), just in the same way the Chôḷa kings called themselves Râjakêsari and Parakêsari. In my opinion, the available facts do not warrant such a surmise. It is a well-known custom in Hindu families, observable even at the present day, that the eldest son takes the name of the grandfather. But if a king had two or more sons who ruled one after the other, it seems unlikely that the names Saḍaiyan and Mâṟaṉ could have been borne alternately. In the very list referred to by the editor, we find that No. 6, Mâṟavarman Srîvallabha had two sons: No. 7 Varaguṇa and No. 8 Parântaka II. These reigned one after another. According to Mr. Gopinatha Rao, No. 7, the immediate successor of No. 6, should have been a Saḍaiyaṉ and his younger brother No. 8 Parântaka II, a Mâṟavarman and the latter's son No. 9 Râjasiṁha, a Saḍaiyaṉ. But the plates report that No. 8 was a Saḍaiyan and No. 9 a Mâṟavarmaṉ and this completely upsets the

[3] Other minor differences are that while all the *r*'s in *Râjakêsarivarmarâṉa* and *Râjarâjadêva* occuring in line 1 and the *î*'s in *Îsvaramuḍaiyâr* (lines 1 and 6) are in Grantha in Dr. Hultzsch's impression, these are represented in Tamiḻ in Mr. Gopinatha Rao's transcript. A *k* is also omitted at the beginning of line 5.

theory advanced by the editor. The only way now to get out of the difficulty is to suppose that all the sons of a Mâṟavarman called themselves Śaḍaiyaṉ. But this, it must be observed, is contrary to Indian custom. At any rate, the instance pointed out clearly shows that we are not warranted to postulate that every alternate Pâṇḍya sovereign had the same title.

There could be no difference of opinion on one point, and this is that there were more kings than one of the name Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ and Śaḍaiyamâṟaṉ in the Pâṇḍya genealogy. I may also say that this is admitted by Mr. Gopinatha Rao when he attempts to account for the fact in his theory. The identity of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ of any particular record with any king in the Pâṇḍya pedigree should therefore be based on either internal evidence or by the mention of known events in the records. I take it that this is exactly what prevented Mr. Venkayya from identifying the Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ of the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam record with Jaṭilavarman of the Madras Museum plates. I perceive no ambiguity in his language when he states that the identification of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ must be based upon better evidence than the mere identity of the second portion of the two names, though Mr. Gopinatha Rao confesses that he does not quite grasp the reason set forth in this. Now, with reference to the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam inscription, even admitting that the name Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (which is only a title or surname if it is similar to Râjakêsari or Parakêsari) was the proper name of the king, yet because it was the proper name shared by several kings of the Pâṇḍya genealogy, the name alone does not in the least help us to identify him with a particular Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ in the list, unless there be some other evidence to support the identification. It may be that Mr. Gopinatha Rao has "no difficulty whatsoever in accepting the identity of the king mentioned in all the three inscriptions, the Madras Museum plates, the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam and the Trevandrum Museum stone inscriptions with the king of the same name found in the Âṉaimalai record," for the reason that "the latter half of the name Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ is the proper name of the king in all these." When the inscription itself is not dated in any known era and does not give sufficient clue to the identification of the king mentioned in it with any in the list of Pâṇḍya sovereigns belonging to the same period and having the same name, the identification must be made by excluding all the other possibilities ; else the identification is not worth the name. I do not find how Mr. Gopinatha Rao has excluded other kings bearing the same name from being identical with the Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ of the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam record.

It is worth while to go into the grounds which, as he says, enabled him to satisfactorily refer all these inscriptions to one sovereign. They are (1) palæography and (2) the name Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ.

The second having been disposed of, it only remains to see the validity of the first. If a number of inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of unquestionable date referring to this period had been obtained and their palæography studied, we would be at liberty to adduce that as a ground for placing a record in a certain period. Palæography by itself can only indicate the approximate *period* and not the exact time. So far as I am aware, except the four records under reference, none belonging to any king earlier than the time of the Chôḻa Râjarâja I have been printed excluding the Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahârâja. Such being the case, there is not much force in the argument that palæographical indications show that a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription belongs to A. D. 770 or thereabout. If at least we are assured that Vaṭṭeḻuttu palæography was different 25 years before and 25 years after A. D. 770, the reason may carry some weight. As we have already seen that Mr. Gopinatha Rao's knowledge of the palæography of Tamil inscription has not prevented him from mistaking an inscription of Râjâdhirâja I for one of Râjarâja II in spite of other conclusive evidence to the contrary, we naturally lose faith in his palæographical comparison of the fewer and more complicated Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions. Besides, the letters of the Âṉaimalai record assume a slanting position, while those of the Trevandrum inscription are straight. The latter present points of resemblance to the Varaguṇa-Mahârâja record of Ambâsamudram. These three are available for comparison, as they are printed with plates.

The way in which Mr. Gopinatha Rao creates a queen for his Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṉ seems to be very queer. I use the word "creates" because the record itself does not warrant his conclusion. His whole argument hangs on what he believes to be the use of the honorific plural form of the third personal pronoun *avaukkṉu* in the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam inscription. His argument may be stated thus:—

Śâttaṉ Gaṇapati, the minister of the king, is referred to in this inscription in the third person singular. A certain Nakkaṉ Koṟṟi is mentioned as the wife of a person whom the record introduces with the "honorific plural" *avaṟku*. She cannot, therefore, be the wife of Śâttaṉ Gaṇapati, who is always referred to in the record by the third person singular. The only other possibility is that she must be the queen of Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṉ, and for him the "honorific plural" is appropriate.

It is easy to prove that Nakkaṉ Koṟṟi is the *wife* of Śâttaṉ Gaṇapati and not the *queen* of Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṉ. Her elevation to the rank of a Pâṇḍya queen is due to Mr. Gopinatha Rao's misconception that *avaṟku* is the honorific plural of the third personal pronoun. I have only to show him that the word *avaṟku* is the mere third personal pronoun singular. It is made up of *avaṉ*.

Third personal pronoun singular + Dative sign *ku*.

Rules of grammar require that when these two combine without the intervention of what are called *śâriyai*, the compound assumes the form *avaṟku*, the consonant *ṉ* changing into *r*.

Similar instances are :—

eṉ + *ku* = *eṟku* (first person singular).
niṉ + *ku* = *niṟku* (second persons).

The dative case of nouns is also formed similarly, *e. g*:—

vaḍugaṉ + *ku* = *vaḍugaṟku*.
pâṇaṉ + *ku* = *pâṇaṟku*.
nakkaṉ + *ku* = *nakkaṟku*.

If the *śâriyai* intervenes, the form becomes quite ordinary, as :—

avaṉ + *ku* = *avaṉ* + *u* + *ku* = *avaṉukku*.
vaḍugaṉ + *ku* = *vaḍugaṉ* + *u* + *ku* = *vaḍugaṉukku*.

The honorific plural is formed as follows :—

avar + *ku* = *avarkku* (without the intervention of *śâriyai*).
avar + *ku* = *avarukku* (with *śâriyai*).
vaḍugar + *ku* = *vaḍugarkku* (without *śâriyai*) = *vaḍugarukku* (with *śâriyai*);

similarly, for *pâṇaṉ* or *pâṇar*, *śâttaṉ* or *śâttar*, *nakkaṉ* or *nakkar* or *nakkaṉâr*.

It must only be pointed out that the spelling of the dative of the honorific plural of the third personal pronoun is *avarkku* with single *r* and double *k* and that the spelling of the third personal pronoun, singular, dative is *avaṟku* with *ṟ* and single *k*.

The inscription has the form *avaṟku* with *ṟ* and single *k* and as such it is only the dative of the third personal pronoun, singular *avaṉ*. There is absolutely no differnce between the two singular dative forms *avaṟku* and *avaṉukku*. And as Mr. Gopinatha Rao seems to concede that if the third person singular is used, Nakkaṉ Koṟṟi would be the wife of Śâttaṉ Gaṇapati, I think I have satisfactorily shown that she is not the queen of Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṉ. That this mistake should have been committed after the inscription has been correctly read and translated previously, perhaps shows that the editor takes a peculiar pleasure in differing from others. One other point that could have been considered is that if Nakkaṉ Koṟṟi were the Pâṇḍya queen, she would have been termed Pâṇḍimâdêviyâr, Nambirâṭṭiyâr or Dêviyâr Nakkaṉ Koṟṟiyâr as is quite common in inscriptions.

THE VEDIC CALENDAR.

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The Intercalary Month.

THE term "Vedic Calendar" may appear at the outset to be an anachronism, for the reason that there are no clear references to any kind of calendar in the Vedas proper. Even in the Brâhmaṇas, references to a calendar are so vague that it is hardly possible to form a clear conception of the precise nature of the calendar that was in use. But coming to the Sûtras, especially those of the Sâmavêda, we find precise data to determine the various systems of calendar in observance during the Sûtra period. One might, therefore, be led to think that the term "Sûtraic Calendar" would be preferable to that of "Vedic Calendar." But it should be borne in mind that the various systems of calendar described in the Sûtras are not the result of an observation of the heavens in a day, but are the outcome of the experience gained and adjustments made by many successive calculators of time. Nor are allusions to a calendar altogether wanting even in the Vedas. The description of the New Year's Day as occurring on the Êkâshṭaka day, *i. e.*, the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Mâgha (corresponding to December-January) in the times with which we are dealing, as well as the distinct references to a thirteenth month which must necessarily have been an additional month intercalated for the purpose of keeping the beginning of the year more or less close to its natural time, go a long way to prove that the Vedic poets kept a systematised calendar based upon scientific principles. The beginning of the year on the Êkâshṭaka day is thus described in the Atharvavêda, III 10 :—

"(1) She first shone out; she became a milch-cow at Yama's; let her, rich in milk, yield *(duh)* to us each further summer!

"(2) The night which the gods rejoice to meet as a milch cow coming unite them, which is the spouse *(patnî)* of the year, let her be very auspicious to us!

"(3) Thou, O night, whom we worship as model *(pratimâ)* of the year, do thou unto our long-lived progeny with abundance of wealth.

"(4) This same is she that first shone out; among these other ones she goes about, having entered; great greatnesses are within her; the bride *(vadhû)*, the new generatrix hath conquered.

"(8) Hither hath come the year, thy spouse, O sole Ashṭakâ; do thou unite our long-lived progeny with abundance of wealth!

"(13) Thou whose son is Indra, whose son is Sôma, daughter art thou of Prajâpati; fully thou our desires; accept our oblation!"

A similar hymn with important variations is also found in the Yajurvêda, Taittirîya-Saṁhitâ, IV. 3.11 :—

इयमेव सा या प्रथमा व्यौच्छ्दंतरस्यां चरति प्रविष्टा ।
वधूर्जजान नवगज्जनित्री त्रय एनां महिमानस्सचंते ॥ १ ॥
छंदस्वती उषसा पेपिशाने समानं योनिमनु संचरंती ।
सूर्यपत्नी विचरतः प्रज्ञानती केतुं कृण्वाने अजरे भूरिरेतसा ॥ २ ॥
ऋतस्य पंथामनु तिस्र आगु स्त्रयो घर्मासो अनु ज्योतिषागुः ।
प्रजामेका रक्षत्यूर्जमेका व्रतमेका रक्षति देवयूनाम् ॥ ३ ॥
चतुष्टोमो अभवद्या तुरीया यज्ञस्य पक्षावृषयो भवंती ।
गायत्रीं त्रिष्टुभं जगतीमनुष्टुभं बृहदर्कं युंजानाः सुवराभरन्निदम् ॥ ४ ॥
पंचभिर्धाता विदधाविदं यत्तासां स्वसॄरजनयत् पंच पंच ।
तासामु यंति प्रयवेण पंच नानारूपाणि क्रतवो वसानाः ॥ ५ ॥
त्रिंशत्स्वसार उपयंति निष्कृतं समानं केतुं प्रतिमुंचमानाः ।

ऋतूंस्तन्वते कवयः प्रजानतीर्मध्ये छंदसः परियंति भास्वतीः ॥ ६ ॥
ज्योतिष्मती प्रतिमुंचते नभो रात्री देवी सूर्यस्य व्रतानि ।
वि पश्यंति पशवो जायमाना नानारूपा मातुरस्या उपस्थे ॥ ७ ॥
एकाष्टका तपसा तप्यमाना जजान गर्भं महिमानमिंद्रम् ।
तेन दस्यून् व्यसहंत देवा हंतासुराणामभवच्छचीभिः ॥ ८ ॥
अनानुजामनुजां मामकर्त सत्यं वदत्यन्विच्छ एतद्ब्रूयासम् ।
अस्य सुमतौ यथा यूयमन्या वो अन्यामति मा प्रयुक्त ॥ ९ ॥
अभून्मम सुमतौ विश्ववेदा आष्ट प्रतिष्ठामविदद्धि गाधम् ।
भूयासमस्य सुमतौ यथा यूयमन्या वो अन्यामति मा प्रयुक्त ॥ १० ॥
पंच व्युष्टीरनु पंच दोहा गां पंचनाम्नीमृतवोऽनु पंच ।
पंचदिशः पंचदशेन क्लृप्ताः समानमूर्ध्नीरभिलोकमेकम् ॥ ११ ॥
ऋतस्य गर्भः प्रथमा व्यूषुष्यपामेका महिमानं बिभर्ति ।
सूर्यस्यैका चरति निष्कृतेषु घर्मस्यैका सवितैकां नियच्छति ॥ १२ ॥
या प्रथमा व्यौच्छत्सा धेनुरभवद्यमे ।
सा नः पयस्वती धुक्ष्वोत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥ १३ ॥
शुक्रर्षभा नभसा ज्योतिषागाद् विश्वरूपा शबलीरग्निकेतुः ।
समानमर्थं स्वपस्यमाना बिभ्रती जरामजर उष आगाः ॥ १४ ॥
ऋतूनां पत्नी प्रथमेयमागादह्नां नेत्री जनित्री प्रजानाम् ।
एका सती बहुधोषो व्युच्छस्यजीर्णा त्वं जरयसि सर्वमन्यत् ॥ १५ ॥

"(1) It is she that first shone out; having entered into this (*earth*), she goes about; (*like*) a bride, newly married (*to the* NEW YEAR), she has become the generatrix (*of the days that follow*); three are the great lights that associate with her.

"(2) Extolled in metres, these two shining dawns, coming out of the same womb, and being the wives of the sun, go about all-knowing, making a flag, free from old age, and impregnated with abundant seed.

"(3) Three dawns have reached the path of the sacrifice; three lights [the fire, the sun, and the moon] have also approached it; of them, one protects the offspring, one the vigour, and one the rite of those who like to please the gods.

"(4) She who is the fourth has passed into the four sets of Sâma-chants [nine-versed' fifteen-versed, seventeen-versed, and twenty-one-versed chants], maintaining the two wings [halves] of the sacrifice [*i. e.*, the year] as known to the sages, and giving rise to the Great Litany composed of Gâyatrî, Trishṭubh, Jagatî, and Anushṭubh metres; and she has preserved this heaven [the solstice].

"(5) With five (*days*) the Creator has made this; he has also created five and five sisters of them; taking various forms and being clothed in sacrificial splendour, five of them run with great speed.

"(6) Thirty sisters [days] partake of the rite, spreading out the same flag; they make the seasons; being wise and all-knowing and residing in the metres, they go about with great splendour.

"(7) Clothed in splendour, this shining night takes to herself the rites addressed to the sun above: even the various kinds of beasts, on awakening, see her on the lap of this mother [the earth].

"(8) This eighth day, bearing the troubles of pregnancy, has brought forth this great Indra; with his help the gods repelled the enemies; in virtue of his own might, he has become the destroyer of the Asuras.

"(9) O sole Ashṭakâs, ye gave a sister to me hitherto without a sister; ye speak the truth; listen to this prayer: just as ye are pleased with the behaviour of this (*Indra*), so may ye be pleased with mine; do not send me away to any one else!

"(10) This all-knowing dawn stepped into my mind and has taken a firm hold of it; just as ye are pleased with this (*Indra*), so may ye be pleased with me; do not send me away to any one else;

"(11) The five mornings, the five milkings, and the five seasons follow the cow with five names; the five quarters regulated by the fifteen-versed chant and possessed of the same characteristics as the five mornings follow this single light [the dawn].

"(12) (*Of the five mornings*) the first is the womb of the dawn: one bears the magnificence of the waters; one presides at the rites addressed to the sun; one presides over the heat; and one the sun controls.

"(13) She that first shone out has become a cow at Yama's; let her, rich in milk, yield to us each further summer!

"(14) Foremost among the lights, clothed in brilliant splendour, has arrived this illuminating dawn with various colours, like a flag of the sacrificial fire; O ever-youthful dawn, conducive to the performance of unchanging rites, and grey with old age, thou hast arrived!

"(15) The wife of the seasons, the first (*dawn*) has arrived, leading the days and being the mother of creatures; though one, thou hast become many; free from old age, thou causest the rest to grow old."

Likewise the Tâṇḍyamahâbrâhmaṇa describes the Ekâshṭaka as the wife of the year:—V. 9 2.

एषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकाष्टका. एतस्यां वा गतां रात्रिं वसति. साक्षादेव तत्संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षंते.

"What is called the Ekâshṭakâ (*day*) is the wife of the year; when the night of this day arrives, (*prajâpati*) lies with her. Hence, commencing with the (*true*) beginning of the year, (*sacrificers*) observe the rite of initiation."

The important points to be particularly noticed in the above passages are (1) the beginning of the year, probably solar, on the eighth day of the dark half of the month Mâgha; (2) the designation of this day by such names as 'a cow,' 'dawn,' 'Prajâpati's daughter,' and 'Sûryâ'; (3) the association or a kind of secret marriage of the dawn with three lights, the fire, the moon, and the sun, as pointed out by Sâyaṇa in his commentary on verse 1; (4) the birth of the days of the following year or cycle of years, as well as of Indra and Sôma from the marriage of the dawn with the sun; (5) the celebration of the dawn by the four well-known Sâma-chants; namely, the nine-versed chant, the fifteen-versed chant, the seventeen-versed chant, and the twenty-one-versed chant, each of which is, as we shall see, intended to signify as many intercalary days as the number of verses contained in it; (6) the destruction of enemies and Asuras brought about by Indra, the son of the dawn.

As regards the first point, it is true that we are told nowhere in the Vêdas themselves that the word Ekâshṭakâ means the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Mâgha; still, on the authority of Âpastamba and other Sûtra-writers, who have defined it as such, we may take it to mean that particular day. From the next three points we have to understand that, at the commencement of every year or cycle of years, it was the usual custom with the Vêdic poets to celebrate a symbolical marriage of the New Year's Day with the sun in order to enable the new year to beget its 720 children,[1] *i.e.*, its days and nights, or, in other words, to perpetuate an auspicious flow of time for themselves. This seems to be the sum and substance of the celebrated marriage hymns,[2] in which the marriage procession of Sûryâ or the dawn to be wedded to the sun is

[1] R. V. i. 164 10, 11.

[2] R. V. x, 85; and A. V. xiv, 1, 2.

the subject of a long and mystic description, and which are even now recited on the occasions of marriages performed as a rule after the winter solstice and before the summer solstice. The recognition of the dawn first by Sôma, the moon, next by Gandharva,[3] one of the 27 *nakshatras*, then by Agni, and lastly by men, seems to signify the association of the dawn first with the synodic lunar year of 354 days, next with the sidereal lunar year of 351 days containing 13 months each of 27 days corresponding to the 27 *nakshatras* or Gandharvas, then with the Sâvana year of 360 days, dedicated to the sacrificial fire-god from whom the dawn or the twenty-first day, based upon the difference between the Sâvana year and the Julian solar year of 365¼ days, is believed to have come under the protection or observance of men. The fact of making the dawn the object of praise in the Chatushṭômas or four sets of Sâma-chants seems to render probable the above explanation of the two obscure verses of the marriage-hymn.[4] The five mornings which are said to precede the brilliant dawn in verse 11 seem to be five days added after the end of the Sâvana year. As regards the destruction of enemies and Asuras by Indra, we shall presently see that they are not real enemies or Asuras, but intercalary days regarded as such.

Thus, while the Yajurvêda connects the mornings and the mystic cows with the Chatushṭômas, thereby implying the final number of intercalary days to be twenty-one, their number is distinctly stated as three times seven in the Sâma-vêda.

तेऽमन्वत प्रथमं नाम गोनाम्
त्रिस्सप्त परमं नाम जानन् ।
ता जानतीरभ्यनूषत क्षाः
आविर्भुवन्नरुणीर्यशसा गावः ॥

"First they (*the sages*) came to know the sacred
name of the cows; they came to know the
sacred names to be three times seven;
knowing them, they extolled the morning (*kshâḥ*):
then the red cows became famous."

There are two more verses which express the same idea:—

अयं पुनान उषसो अरोचयत्
अयं सिंधुभ्यो अभवदु लोककृत् ।
अयं त्रिस्सप्त दुदुहान आशिरम्
सोमो हृदे पवते चारुमत्सरः ॥ Sâma, ii, 1, 17, 3.

त्रिरस्मै सप्त धेनवो दुदुह्रिरे
सत्यामाशिरं परमे व्योमन् ।
चत्वार्यन्या भुवनानि निर्णिजे
चारूणि चक्रे यदृतैरवर्धत ॥ Sâma, vi, 2, 2, 7.

"He, being purified, hath made the mornings shine;
and it is he who gave the rivers room to flow;
making the three times seven pour out the milky
stream, Sôma, the cheerer, yields whatever the heart finds sweet."

"The three times seven milch-kine in the loftiest
heaven have for this Sôma poured the genuine
milky draught; four other beauteous worlds
hath he made for his adornment when he
waxed in strength through holy rites."

[3] *Vâjasaneyasaṁhitâ* 18, 40; and also *Taittirîya* I, 7, 7. [4] *R. V.* x, 85, 40-41; A. V. xiv. 2, 3, 4.

For reasons to be pointed out further on, I presume that the four worlds referred to in the above verse are four solar years, and that the twenty-one cows or mornings are the intercalary days made up of the four times five days and a quarter which is the difference between a Sâvana and a solar year. I do not, however, contend that it is clear from the above passages themselves that the twenty-one cows or mornings are intended to signify so many intercalary days and intercalary days alone. Still, I believe that scholars will agree with me in holding that, so far as the beginning of the year on the Ekâshṭaka day is concerned, these passages leave no doubt whatever. The Ekâshṭaka day is clearly a lunar day; and the year that was practically observed by the Vedic poets was the Sâvana year of 360 days. The number of days from one Ekâshṭaka or the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Mâgha to the next Ekâshṭaka is 354. Accordingly, if the Sâvana year of 360 days, having once begun (on the Ekâshṭaka day, is to begin again, on that same day, there must necessarily be an adjustment of the difference of six days between the lunar and the Sâvana years by the addition of one month to the lunar year in every five years. If instead of the Sâvana year, they adopted a solar or a sidereal year, even then they must necessarily have adjusted the respective differences between the lunar and the solar or between the lunar and the sidereal years by intercalation in the form of days or months. Accordingly, we find clear references to a thirteenth intercalary month not only in the Yajurvêda and the Atharvavêda, but also in the Ṛigvêda. The Ṛigvêda i, 25, 8, thus alludes to the intercalary month :—

वेद मासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः । वेदा य उपजायते ॥

"He, who, accepting the rites (*dedicated to him*), knows the twelve months and their productions, and that which is supplementarily engendered."

In his translation of the Ṛigvêda, Professor H. H. Wilson remarked as follows :—

"वेद य उपजायते, who knows what is *upa*, additionally or subordinately produced. The expression is obscure, but in connection with the preceding, वेद मासो द्वादश, who knows the twelve months, we cannot doubt the correctness of the scholiast's conclusion, that the thirteenth, the supplementary or intercalary month of the Hindu luni-solar year, is alluded to; that 'the thirteenth or additional month which is produced of itself, in connection with the year,' 'यस्त्रयोदशोऽधिमासउपजायते संवत्सरसमीपे स्वयमेवोत्पद्यते'." The passage is important, as indicating the concurrent use of lunar and solar years at this period and the method of adjusting the one to the other."

Notwithstanding Sâyaṇa's interpretation of the word *upajâyate* in the sense of 'a supplementary month,' it is doubtful whether the word indicates a complete intercalary month or an intercalated period less than a month; for we shall presently see that before the custom of adjusting the lunar and the solar reckoning by the addition of a complete month came into vogue, the usual practice was to adjust them by adding as many days as formed the difference between any two kinds of years or sets of years. Still, it is certain that some sort of intercalation, either in the form of a month or in the form of a period less than a month, is what is implied in the above verse of the Ṛigvêda. But coming to the Atharvavêda, we see therein a clear description of a thirteenth intercalary month :—

अहोरात्रैर्विमितं त्रिंशदंगं त्रयोदशं मासं यो निर्मिमीते ।
तस्य देवस्य क्रुद्धस्यैतदागो य एवं विद्वांसं ब्राह्मणं जिनाति. ॥

"He who measures the thirteenth month, fabricated of days and nights, having thirty members—against that god, angered, is this offence." A. V., XIII, 3. 8.

सनिस्रसो नामासि
त्रयोदशो मास इंद्रस्य गृहः ।

" Weakling by name art thou, the thirteenth month, Indra's house." A. V., v. 6. 4.

In the Krishna-Yajurvêda, i. 4. 14, the twelve mouths together with a thirteenth intercalated month are thus enumerated :—

मधुश्च माधवश्च शुक्रश्च शुचिश्च नभश्च नभस्यश्च इषश्चोर्जश्च सहश्च सहस्यश्च तपश्च तपस्यश्चोपयामगृहीतोऽसि संसर्पोऽसि अंहस्पत्याय त्वा.

" Thou art the month of Madhu,[5] the month of Mâdhava, the month of Sukra, the month of Suchi, the month of Nabhas, the month of Nabhasya, the month of Isha, the month of Ûrja, the month of Sahas, the month of Sahasya, the month of Tapas, and the month of Tapasya; and thou art caught hold of in a wooden vessel; thou art the month Saṁsarpa [a creeping month] ; and thou art the receptacle of sins."

The Brâhmaṇa portion contained in the Krishṇa-Yajurvêda, vi. 5, 3, 12, comments on this passage as follows :--

प्रसिद्धमेवाध्वर्युर्दक्षिणेन प्रपद्यते प्रसिद्धं प्रतिप्रस्थातोत्तरेण. तस्मादादित्यष्षण्मासो दक्षिणेनैति षडुत्तरेण उपया मगृहीतोऽसि संसर्पोऽस्यंहस्पत्याय त्वेत्याहास्ति त्रयोदशो मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत्प्रीणाति.

" Clearly does the Adhvaryu first go to the south; clearly the Pratiprasthâtṛi priest to the north. Hence does the sun go to the south for six months; and to the north for six months. He says: 'Thou art caught in a wooden vessel'; thou art Saṁsarpa [a creeping month] and a receptacle for sins.' They say that there is also a thirteenth month; it is that thirteenth month which he pleases thereby."

The symbolical practice connected with this passage is this :—The Adhvaryu priest fills thirteen wooden vessels with Sôma-juice; and with the help of another priest, called Pratiprasthâtṛi, he makes offerings therefrom to the seasons. While performing the rite, the Adhvaryu goes to the south and the Pratiprasthâtṛi to the north, imitating the southern and northern movements of the sun respectively. As will be seen, it was in the middle of the year, during the summer or the winter solstice, according as the year began with the winter or the summer solstice, that the intercalary period was inserted, delaying the sun's turning movement so long and occupying that period in performing the initiatory rites. Hence the reference in this passage to the sun's northern and southern movements, and to the thirteenth month during which the commencement of those turning movements is delayed. The fact of representing the months by Sôma-vessels is clearly stated in the Maitrâyaṇîya-Saṁhitâ, iii, 10. 4. 5.

द्वादश पात्राण्युपांशुसवनस्त्रयोदशं यत्त-
न्मीमांसंते पात्रा३न्नपात्रा३मिति मीमांसंते
हि त्रयोदशं मासं मासा३न्नमासा३ इति.

" Twelve are the vessels; the pressing stone, called *Upâṁśusavana* is the thirteenth; the discussion they hold, by asking whether there ought to be a vessel or no vessel (*to represent a thirteenth month*), is a discussion as to whether there is a thirteenth month or no thirteenth month."

Regarding the sacrificial function observed during a thirteenth month, the Tâṇḍyamahâ Brâhmaṇa, x, 3. 2, says :—

पिता नोऽराध्सीदिति मासा उपासीदन् । ते दीक्षयैवाराध्नुवन् । उपसत्सु त्रयोदशमदीक्षयन् । सोऽनुव्यमभवत्. तस्मादुपसत्सु दिदीक्षाणोऽनुव्यं भवत्येव च हि त्रयोदशं मासं चक्षते नैव च.

" The months observed the vow of *Upasads* [sessions] with the intention that their father [the year] might prosper. They, however, prospered merely by observing the initiatory rites, and initiated the thirteenth month during the period of the vow of *Upasads* [sessions]. Therefore the thirteenth month became their follower. Hence whoever undergoes the rite of initiation during the period of the vow of *Upasads* [sessions] becomes the follower (*of the rest of the priests*). Accordingly they declare a thirteenth month as existent and also as non-existent."

[5] Madhu corresponds to Chaitra; Mâdhava to Vaiśâkha; and so on.

Again, the Maitrâyaṇîya-Saṁhitâ i. 5. 5. 6, says :—

अग्नीषोमीयया त्रयोदशी उपस्थेयोऽस्ति.
मासस्त्रयोदशः तमेवैतयाप्त्वावरुंधे.

"The thirteenth lunar day is to be propitiated by the immolation of a beast sacred to Agni and Sôma. There is the thirteenth month ; it is that thirteenth month which he catches hold of by this offering."

These and other references to the New Year's Day and the thirteenth month intercalated solely for the purpose of keeping the seasons or the months in their proper places in the year, are enough to show that the Vedic poets kept a calendar with far more scientific precision than we are pleased to credit them with. Whether we will or no, the fact cannot be denied that the idea of a thirteenth month, *i.e.*, an intercalated month, could not have dawned upon the mind of the Vedic poets unless they had been quite familiar with the true lengths of several kinds of years. There is also reason to believe that, before the system of adjusting the difference between any two kinds of years by the insertion of an intercalary month was begun, the practice was to adjust them by adding sets of intercalary days, such as 9, 11, 12, 21, and so on. That such was the custom, is clear from the following passage of the Kaṭhaśâkhâ-Brâhmaṇa, quoted in the *Smṛitiťattra.*[6]

अर्धमासा वै अधस्तात्संतः अकामयत मासास्स्यामेति. ते द्वादशाहं ऋतुमुपायन् त्रयोदशं ब्राह्मणं कृत्वा तस्मिन् मृष्ट्वा उदतिष्ठन् तस्मात्सोऽनायतनः इतरानुपजीवतीति. तस्माद्द्वादशाहस्य त्रयोदशेन ब्राह्मणेन भवितव्यमिति कठशाखाब्राह्मणम्.

अस्यार्थो जयस्वामिना व्याख्यात :—

ते चार्धमासा स्त्रयोदशं मलमासं ब्राह्मणं कृत्वा द्वादशाहं ऋतुमुपायन् उपाहृतवंतः तस्मिन्मलमासे मृष्ट्वा संमार्ज्य किमित्याकांक्षायां अरातीरित्यध्याह्रियते. अरातीः पापानि संमार्ज्य उदतिष्ठन्. पापभारशून्या उत्थिता अभवन्नित्यर्थः तत्र पापनिर्मार्जनार्थवादात् संभवत्कालानंतरं कर्म तत्र न कर्तव्यम् न तु निरवकाशमिति. अर्थवादात् विधिकल्पनायाः प्रतीतिबाधेनैवौचित्यात्. अतो नित्यनैमित्तिकशांतिकादेः मलमासेन पर्युदासः सोऽनायतन इति नाप्यस्य चैत्रादिवत प्रतिनियतस्थानमित्यर्थः इतरानुपजीवतीति मासांतरेषु चंद्रक्षयवृद्धिभ्य. तस्योपजननात्.

"Being at a lower level [*i.e.*, being less than a month], the half-months desired that they might grow into months. They approached the twelve days' sacrifice. Having appointed a Brâhmaṇa as a thirteenth priest [in addition to the twelve priests] and having washed off (*the sins*) on him, they got up. Hence it is that he [the thirteenth month or the priest who represents it] is homeless and dependent for his existence upon others. Hence there ought to be a thirteenth Brâhmaṇa priest in every twelve days' sacrifice. This is a passage from the *Brâhmaṇa* of the Kaṭha School.

"This passage is thus commented upon by Jayasvâmin :—Having represented the thirteenth, 'dirty,' month by a Brâhman priest, those half-months collected the twelve-days' sacrifice, [*i e.*, converted it into a month's sacrifice]. Having washed off in that 'dirty' month,—if it is asked what was that which they washed off on the 'dirty' month, we have to understand the word *arâti*, 'enemies';—having washed off the enemies, *i.e.*, the sins, they got up, *i.e.*, they rose up free from the burden of sin. From the descriptive statement of washing off the sins, it follows that the sacrificial performance which can possibly be observed in the subsequent month should neither be undertaken during the 'dirty' month nor be given up. The inference of a rule from a descriptive statement is reasonable inasmuch as the sense of the descriptive statement can otherwise have no application whatever.[7] Hence the performance of obligatory, casual, expiatory, and other religious rites is prohibited in a 'dirty' month. 'It is homeless': *i.e.*, like Chaitra and other months, it has not a fixed place of its own in the year. 'Dependent for its existence upon others,' *i.e.*, the thirteenth month comes into existence owing to the waxing and waning of the moon in the intervals of months."

(*To be continued.*)

[6] *Smṛitiťatra.* Calcutta ed., 1895, p. 782.

[7] Here the rule is that the sacrifice should neither be performed in the 'dirty' month nor be given up, but should be performed in the subsequent month. The statement is that of washing off the sins in the dirty month.

"LAUKIKANYAYANJALI" TWO HANDFULS OF POPULAR MAXIMS CURRENT IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE, COLLECTED BY COLONEL G. A. JACOB.

BY PROF. VANAMALI CHAKRAVARTTI, M A., VEDANTATIRTHA; GAUHATI.

COLONEL JACOB is a good worker in the cause of Sanskrit studies. His 'Concordance to the principal *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*' will ever remain a monument of patient industry. His editions of the *Vedântasâra* and the *Eleven Upanishads* are equally well-known. He is never satisfied with an untraced quotation, and he is doing yeoman service by publishing the results of his studies, now and then, in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society. When such a man compiles a book on the popular maxims current in Sanskrit literature, it deserves to be studied with all attention. Indeed, the author has begun a most useful work as a pioneer of the subject of maxim-hunting, and it is with the hope of rousing the attention of the Indian Sanskritists to this subject, that I write this review.

The first 'Handful' seems to have been excessively well received by the learned world in England. For the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society says in its July number, 1901—"The modestly styled 'Handful' is only one more example of the laborious care and love of accuracy for which the author is distinguished."

The author begins by criticising the work of his predecessors in the same field. These predecessors were the illustrious Târânâtha, who is said to have given a list of 151 *Nyâyas* in his *Vâchaspatya Encyclopœdia* and Satyavrata Sâmaśramî, the celebrated Vedic scholar of Bengal [cf. pp. ii (preface), i, v, 2, 14.]. These scholars did not give detailed references to the books in which the maxims occur, and undoubtedly Colonel Jacob deserves our sincere thanks for giving them. He has also pointed out some real mistakes in Târânâtha. We are grateful for this too. But we are really sorry that he should have thought it fit sometimes to use too strong language of abuse, for such language about one scholar from another serves no useful purpose; it looks too much like prejudice. Prof. A. Venis renders a maxim wrongly (p. 31, Vol. I) ; the author simply points out the mistake. Târânâtha commits a mistake and he says his explanation is rubbish and nonsensical.

We shall now point out a few inaccuracies and mistakes into which Colonel Jacob has himself fallen with the hope that these will be corrected in subsequent editions.

P. v., Vol. I—

In explaining the उष्ट्रकण्टकभक्षणन्याय, the author quotes *Bhâmatî* (pp. 380-1, *Bibliotheca Indica edition*) 'एवं कण्टकः क्रमेलकस्य सुख इति मनुष्यादीनामपि प्राणभृतां सुखः स्यात्। न ह्यसौ कांश्चित् प्रत्येवाकण्टक इति' and adds in a foot-note "The printed text wrongly reads 'कण्टक'." We submit that the suggested correction is uncalled for and that the true reading must be either (1) प्रत्येव कण्टकः (*Bibliotheca Indica*) or (2) प्रत्यकण्टकः (*Sanskrit College* MSS.) or (3) प्रति न कण्ठकः (*Asiatic Society's* MSS.). We would prefer the reading of the Sanskrit College MSS., which keeps the क्रम observed in अचन्दनः and अकुङ्कुमपङ्कः. We wonder that Colonel Jacob should have omitted to mention the MSS. that authorised him to make the emendation; for, surely, the critical Western savant cannot be supposed to have corrected चण्डी into मुण्डी in the fashion of the uncritical Indian scribe.

Vol. I, pp. 11 and 12—

In explaining the काकतालीयन्याय, the author says, "A crow alighted on a Palmyra tree, and at the same moment some of the fruit (*sic.*) fell on its head and killed it." We have seen plenty of ताल trees in Bengal, but we could scarcely understand how a *tâla* fruit may fall *upon* the head of a bird, that has alighted *on the tree*. Of course, the true explanation of the Sanskrit text quoted seems to be that the crow came and alighted on the ground, at the foot of the tree, and then the fruit fell and killed it.

Again p. 12—

" The Marâṭhî pandits in adopting the Nyâya have changed its meaning." The explanation given by Molesworth (*i. e.* the Marâṭhâ pandit's explanation), is the explanation prevalent in all parts of Bengal. It is identical with the 2nd explanation given by नीलकण्ठ (Nîlakaṇṭha).

Principal V. S. Apte explains it as follows :—

" It takes its origin from the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm-fruit upon the head of a crow (so as to kill it) at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree . . . "

(*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 651.)

Prof. Bidhubhusan Goswami has copied this incorrect explanation in his notes on the *Kirâta*, Cantos 1 and 2.

Vol. I., p. 15 and Vol. II, p. 29—

क्षीरं विहायारोचकग्रस्तस्य सौवीररुचिमनुहरति ।

The maxim ought to have ended with रुचि in the first case-ending (cf. pp. 32, 33 where the compiler rightly rejects the word " अनुहरति "). Here is Colonel Jacob's translation of the maxim: " Leaving the milk suitable to the dyspeptic, he enjoys the sour gruel." This is wrong. The real translation would run as follows :— " Just as a man suffering from loss of appetite may prefer sour gruel to milk. " It means that when a man prefers the lower pleasure to the higher, he must be supposed to be in an abnormal state of mind, like the patient who prefers sour gruel to the sweet milk,

This maxim occurs also in the *Âtmatattvaviveka*; as, " क्षीरं विहाय रुचिररोचकग्रस्तस्य सौवीरे " (p. 41, Madanmohan's edition Saṃvat 1906, Calcutta).

Vol. I, p. 32—

विपुलकदलीफललिप्सया जिह्वाच्छेदनम् ।

The Colonel's explanation is merely a reproduction of Gough's rendering of the maxim in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, and it must be said that Gough seems not to have understood the thing clearly. Here is the explanation : " Cutting off the tongue while trying to get a fine plantain." This gives no meaning, at least the wording does not. The correct explanation would be:—

Cutting off the tongue with the desire of eating a large plantain [which on account of its great size, could not be contained in the mouth if the tongue were to remain intact].

Vol. I, p. 46—

अवयवशक्तेः समुदायशक्तिः बलीयसी ।

" The strength of a community is greater than that of a member of it." The real meaning may be thus expressed :—The meaning (*lit.* force) of the whole word is stronger than the meaning (*lit.* force) of the component parts thereof. This is not a लौकिकन्याय in the sense in which Colonel Jacob takes the word. It applies to interpretation of texts. It directs that in finding out the meaning of a text, we are to prefer the ordinary meaning of the word to its derivative meaning, of course if there be nothing in the context repugnant thereto. cf. रूढिर्योगमपहरति (Vol. II, p. 39). (In Vol. III of the 'Handfuls,' this mistake has been corrected).

Vol. I, p. 47—

" If I am right in supposing Ânandagiri to have been a disciple of the great Śaṅkara who died about A.D. 820, then the early part of the eighth century would be the latest date that could be assigned to Amara."

Ânandagiri, or Ânandajñâna, as he more frequently styles himself, was a disciple of Śuddhânanda. Ânandajñâna says in his introduction to his commentary on the *Śârîraka-bhâshya* (from which Colonel Jacob is quoting) :—

शुद्धानन्दमुनीश्वराय गुरवे तस्मै परस्मै नमः ।

In the colophons of the same work we read: "इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीशुद्धानन्दपूज्यपादशिष्यभगवदानन्दज्ञानकृते श्रीमच्छारीरकमीमांसाभाष्यविभागे–" Moreover, Ânandajñâna says that the माण्डुक्यभाष्य of Śankara had many commentaries in his time; he actually quotes three or four interpretations of *Śloka* 2 of the introduction. Thus, this Ânanda can never be identified with Ânanda the disciple of Śaṅkara.

It is strange that exactly twenty years before Colonel Jacob's publication, Mr. Kailasachandra Siṇha had committed the same mistake with reference to the identity and time of Ânandajnâna (*vide* his *Gîtâ* Introduction).

Vol. I, p. 48—

नहि खदिरगोचरे परशौ पलाशे द्वैधीभावो भवति ।

In 1900, Colonel Jacob was "not quite clear as to the drift of the saying." In 1902, he became wiser, and wrote, "It means that 'the Palasa tree is not cleft when the axe is applied to the Khadira tree,' and is used *to indicate that two objects are essentially distinct, and stand on separate bases*" (p. v. Introduction, Vol. II). Colonel Jacob's translation is all right, but his explanatory note is rather vague. The maxim is meant as an illustration of the well-known doctrine of the सामानाधिकरण्य of cause and effect.

Vol. I, p. 48—

नहि भवति कुण्डं बदरम् ।

Colonel Jacob "should like more light on this saying." We give below what little light we can. The बदर is the jujube fruit and *kuṇda* here means a vessel containing the jujube fruit. The *kuṇda* (कुंड) is an आधार (*i.e.*, a place where something is kept) and the jujube is the आधेय (*i.e.*, a thing which is kept in something). The principle means that you cannot put the आधार and the आधेय in the same case. There could be no सामानाधिकरण्य in such cases.

Vol. I, p. 49—

याचितमण्डनन्याय ।

This also is a maxim of which the meaning is unknown to Col. Jacob. We give the meaning below:—

A lady borrows some ornaments from another and therewith decorates her person. A third party on seeing her, will say that she *has* (*i.e.*, is the owner of) these ornaments. Similar is the case with the expression गोविषयकानयनक्रियागोचरकार्य्यता ज्ञानवान्, for an action or *kriyâ* has no विषय; it is only ज्ञान, इच्छा, कृति (including प्रवृत्ति), द्वेष that have a विषय. So गोविषयकआनयनक्रिया is wrong. But it is justified on the याचितमण्डनन्याय. The action has *borrowed*, so to say, a विषय from that प्रवृत्ति which produced the action, and as a lady in borrowed ornaments is supposed to be in possession of them similarly the action of आनयन also may be supposed to have the 'cow' for its विषय; though the cow was really the विषय of the प्रवृत्ति that produced the आनयनक्रिया.

Vol. II, p. 10—

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् ।

This maxim is very well known to those who have read any Sanskrit grammar written in Sanskrit. Colonel Jacob seems to have misunderstood it. Kielhorn thus translates it rightly:—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place)—(*Paribhâshenduśekhara* p. 179.)

Vol. II, p. 12—

कारणगुणप्रक्रमन्याय ।

"The maxim of the reproduction in the effect of certain qualities, *in the proportion in which they* exist in the producing cause." That portion of the above translation which we have printed in italics seems to be redundant. I do not know whether the word तारतम्य in Nṛisimha Sarasvatî's explanation or the word प्रक्रम in the original suggested this import of foreign matter into the explanation of the maxim.

Vol. II, p. 15—

गले पादुकान्याय ।

Colonel Jacob rejects the explanation given by the native scholar Raghunâthavarman in his *Laukika-nyâya-Saṁgraha* as "extremely far-fetched and unsatisfactory." We, however, think that Raghunâtha is nearer the truth. The Bengalis have a similar idiom. It means that you put your feet (covered with shoes), on the neck of your opponent and thus compel him by sheer force to come to your side. The real point in the comparison is the utter impossibility of escape, गत्यन्तराभाव in the words of Udayana. The opponent has no alternative to fall upon.

Vol. II, p. 19—

तपनीयमपनीय वाससि ग्रन्थिकर्त्तारमुपहससि स्वयं च कनकमुपादाय गगनांचले ग्रन्थिं करोषि ॥

This maxim has been taken from the *Âtmatattvaviveka* of Udayana, a book which is written in the most difficult philosophical language and which even the erudite native pandits find it difficult to understand. We cannot withhold our genuine admiration from a European scholar who can hunt up a maxim in a book like this, of which the contents, from the nature of the case, must present almost insurmountable difficulties to him. This is patient research and surely here we have to learn from our western contemporaries. Colonel Jacob's translation is given below :—

"Thou ridiculest the man who *taking* his gold ties *it* up *in* a corner of his garment and then thyself taking the gold tiest it up in the skirt of the sky!" This, of course, is wrong. For *taking* read *throwing away* (अपनीय) and omit *it* and *in*. The reference is to a foolish man who laughs at another fool because the latter ties up a knot in the garment after he has thrown off his gold (for the safety of which the knot is made) though he himself ties up the gold in the sky, *i.e.*, fancies that the sky is a safe place for the deposit of the gold, provided only he makes the movements of making a knot in the air.

Vol. II, p. 24—

न यद् गिरिशृङ्गमारुह्य गृह्यते तदप्रत्यक्षम् ।

"A thing does not become imperceptible, because perceived by one who has ascended a mountain peak." The language used by the compiler is not very clear. We should rather say :— A thing is not to be regarded as imperceptible, because it could be perceived only after ascending a mountain peak, *i.e.*, because certain conditions must be fulfilled before it is perceived.

Vol. II, p. 25—

नरसिंहन्याय ।

Colonel Jacob says : "The maxim of the union of man and lion." He apparently does not remember the reference to the नरसिंह अवतार of Vishṇu. The body of नरसिंह is partly human, partly leonine.

Vol. II, p. 27—

न ह्यप्राप्य प्रदीपः प्रकाश्यं प्रकाशयति ।

"The lamp will not throw light on an object before it is [lighted and] brought in. Perhaps equivalent to 'catch your hare before cooking it.'" We give the correct translation below :—

A lamp cannot illuminate an object, before it is brought in connection (contact or relation) with that object. This is a philosophical maxim.

Vol. II, p. 34—

मूषिकभक्षितबीजादावंकुरादिजननप्रार्थना ।

"This seems to belong to the same category as the काकदन्तपरीक्षा." The काकदन्तपरीक्षान्याय points out the want of adequate *motive* or प्रयोजन ; but the present Nyâya points out the utter impossibility of a thing.

Vol. II, p. 35—

यः कारयति स करोत्येव ।

"He who causes a thing to be done by another is himself the real doer of it." For *himself the real* read surely *a*.

Vol I, pp. 36-37—

यादृशो यक्षस्तादृशो बलिः ।

यक्ष is derived from a root, meaning to worship. यक्ष is thus literally an object of worship—a god. "As is the god, so is the offering." Compare the Bengali proverb येमन देवता तेमन नैविद्य. Thus it is not the same as 'tit-for-tat' or 'Roland for an Oliver.'

This review has been written mainly with the intention of drawing the attention of the Indian Sanskritists to the useful subject of maxim-hunting. It is a field for patient and honest research. Let our countrymen, who are now engaged in teaching Sanskrit in our Colleges, apply themselves to this task, and their labours will be amply rewarded.

ASOKA'S BHABRA EDICT AND ITS REFERENCES TO TIPIṬAKA PASSAGES.

BY PROF. DHARMANANDA KOSAMBI, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

IN the Bhabra edict king Aśoka suggests certain sacred texts (*dhamma-paliyâyâni*) as good to be studied not only by monks and nuns, but also by lay-brothers (*upâsokâ*) and lay-sisters (*upâsikâ*). These texts are, according to the readings of Émile Senart (*Les inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 199, Paris, 1886), as follows:—

1. *Vinaya-samukase* ;
2. *Aliya-vasâni* ;
3. *Anâgata-bhayâni* ;
4. *Muni-gâthâ* ;
5. *Moneya sûte* ;
6. *Upatisa-pasine* ;
7. *Laghulovâde*.

Considering the great antiquity of the edicts of Aśoka, it is evidently a matter of much interest and moment that the above mentioned texts should be surely and correctly identified with the specific passages of the canonical books.

Number 1 has not been identified, and I am unable to offer any useful suggestion regarding it.

Numbers 2-5. With the help of the previous studies of Senart and Oldenberg, Professor Rhys Davids gives the desired identification of numbers 2-5 in his *Buddhist India* (London, 1903), at page 169. Using the Pâli text Society's editions of the *Nikâya* Texts as the basis of reference, the intended identifications are as follows:—

2. *Aryia-vasâni = Sangîti-sutta* of the (then unpublished) *Dîgha-nikâya, Vol.* 3 ;
3. *Anâgata-bhayâni = Anguttara-nikâya*, Vol. 3, pp. 105-108, *sutta* 79 ;
4. *Muni-gâthâ = Sutta-nipâta*, stanzas 207-221, p. 36 ;
5. *Moneyya-sutta = Anguttara-nikâya*, Vol. 1, p. 273 ; *Itivuttaka*, p. 56.

Number 6, the questions of Upatissa (= Sâriputta): he does not attempt to determine precisely, since many passages might justly bear that title.

Number 7. There are two Rahulovâda-suttas, both in the Majjhima-nikâya, namely, the one at Vol. 1, pages 414-420, and the other at Vol. 1, pages 420-426. The words of the edict expressly state that the admonition uttered by the Exalted Enlightened One to Râhula concerned itself with the subject of falsehood (*Lâghulovâde musâvâdam adhigichya Bhagavatâ Budhena bhâsite*). Now it is precisely a falsehood or *musâvâda*, of which the opening paragraphs of *sutta* 61 treat (see p. 414, l. 10, p. 415, l. 19), and it is accordingly clear that *sutta* 61 is the one intended by Aśoka. It was thus identified by Oldenberg and Senart.

With regard to numbers 4 and 7, I see no reason to differ from the views above stated. There remain therefore numbers 2, 3, 5 and 6 to be discussed.

Number 2, Aliya-vasâni. The first question to settle is this:—

Shall Aśoka's *aliya-vasâni* be equated with *ariya-vâsâ*, 'the holy ways of living', or with *ariya-vaṁsâ*, 'the lineages or traditional ways of the holy'?

Now we find described in the *Saṅgîti-sutta*, not only the *dasa ariya-vâsâ* (*Dîgha*, Vol. 3, p. 269), but also the *cattâro ariya-vaṁsâ* (*Dîgha*, Vol. 3, p. 224). And since this *sutta* is in fact (like *adhyâya* 33 of *Udyôga-parvan* of *Mahâ-bhârata*, *Vidûra-nîti*) a true 'One-more' or '*Aṅguttara*' *sutta*, we may properly expect to find both descriptions in the *Aṅguttara-nikâya*; and so indeed we do find them—the *dasa ariyavâsâ* in the *Dasaka-nipâta*, Vol 5, p. 29, and the *chattâro ariyavaṁsâ* in the *Chatukka-nipâta*, Vol. 2, p. 27. The *Saṅgîti-sutta* is put into the mouth of Sâriputta (see *Dîgha*, Vol. 3, p. 209), while both *Aṅguttara-suttas* are put into the mouth of Buddha. Whichever way we decide our first question, the identification should be—not with one of the *Dîgha* passages, but—with one of the *Aṅguttara* passages, since the edict implies that the *aliya-vasâni* are the words of Buddha.

Prof. Rhys Davids in 1898 (*J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 640) says: "No. 2 is no doubt the passage on the ten *Ariyavâsâ*;" but in 1899 (*Sacred Books of the Buddists*, Vol. 2, p. xiii) he equates it with "*Ariya-vâsâni*" probably not having in mind our present difficulty; and in his *Buddhist India* (1903) he prints the title "*Ariya-vasâni*."[1] Vincent A. Smith in his *Asoka* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1909, p. 154), renders the title by 'The Supernatural Powers of the Âryas,' following Senart's suggestion given at Vol. 2, p. 208 (cf. p. 205). Senart gives it with all due indication of his own doubts, thus: "les pouvoirs surnaturels (?) des Âryas." Perhaps he had vaguely in mind the *vasîs* or masteries. But to read an exhortation to the study of acquiring powers like magical powers or the like into an edict of Aśoka would be entirely out of keeping with the spirit of the edicts as a whole, for these are in general the simplest expositions of matters touching the very fundamentals of the moral law.

But even if we take *aliyavasâni* as meaning the *dasa ariyavâsâ* or 'ten holy ways of living' (of *Aṅguttara*, Vol. 5, p. 29), it would seem that these "ways" are too numerous and artificially elaborate to be suitable for Aśoka's purpose. They involve matters quite beyond the laity, and the tenth (*suvimutta-pañño*) implies nothing less than Arhatship. The *Dîgha* text later on (Vol. 3, p. 291) recurs to the ten *ariyavâsâ*, and calls them 'hard to master' *duppaṭivijjhâ*; although this, I admit, may be said of the simplest essentials of morality. The four *ariyavaṁsâ* (of *Aṅguttara*, Vol. 2, p. 27), on the other hand, are in the hightest degree worthy to be recommended by the Emperor as fit subjects of study for all, both monks and laity. The text applies to *ariyavaṁsâ*, the adjectives 'noble,' 'ancient' (*aggaññâ*, *porâṇâ*), and others. And the *Aṅguttara* commentary (Colombo ed., 1898-1909, p. 530, l. 31) glosses the word *vaṁsâ* by *tantiyo*, 'lines'; by *paveṇiyo*, 'successions' or also 'old customs'; by *añjasâ*, 'straight roads or ways (to the goal of the religion)'; and by *vaṭumani*, 'courses': according to which *vaṁso* might mean either 'ancient and noble family' or also 'time-honoured course of conduct.' If *vaṁso* means 'family' then it seems to carry nearly the same meaning as 'household' in the English version of St. Paul's phrase, 'them who are of the household of faith' (Galatians vi, 10). The practical use of *vaṁsâ* in this *sutta* is to designate four households or else four courses of conduct, as typical illustrations of which the *sutta* gives four descriptions of a monk; to wit, (1) a monk who is content with simple clothing, (2) one who is content with the simplest food got in a proper way, (3) one who is satisfied with the humblest habitation, and (4) one who delights in meditation.

[1] The Pâli *vaṁso*, like the Sanskrit *vaṁçaḥ*, is masculine. But of heterogeneous nouns there are not a few in Pâli. Thus in this very edict we have *dhamma-paliyâyâni* as equivalent to the usual masculine plural *paryâyâ*; at *Dhammapada*, stanza 188, occurs *pabbatâni vanâni cha*; and in the *Paṭisambhidâ* (the numerous archaisms of which deserve a careful study) we actually find, at 1.84 *chattâri ariyavaṁsâni* the precise equivalent of the form which appears in the Bhabra edict. As for the lack of the *anusvâra* in *aliya-vasâni*, it may be a dialectic peculiarity; or it may be set down as a stone-cutter's blunder (see Senart, 2, 349, 331, and the end of Rock-edict, No. 14).

The foregoing considerations justify us in equating *Aliyavasâni* with the *chattaro ariyavaṁsâ* (or better, with the *chattari ariyavaṁsâni*, as the *Paṭisambhidâ* calls them) rather than with the *dasa ariyavâsâ*. But this justification is reinforced by a weighty consideration, and that is the importance and distinction, which attached to the *ariyavaṁsâ* text, or to the substance of that text, at so early a time as the reduction of the *Paṭisambhidâ*, and which the text continued to enjoy down to the time of Buddhaghosha (say A. D. 410) and his successors. In the *Paṭisambhidâ* (1·84), these four *ariyavaṁsâni* are set down with the four *satipaṭṭhânâ* and other famous fours. Buddhaghosha, in his *Aṅguttara* commentary, devotes almost ten full pages (521 to 531) to this *sutta*, and begins (p. 521, l. 34) by calling it the Great *Ariyavaṁsa-suttanta* and saying that it was preached by Buddha himself to an assembly of forty thousand monks at Jetavana.

Buddhaghosha had previously made several allusions to the *Arîyavaṁsâ* in his Visuddhimagga. "The Sayâ u Pye" has published the text of this work, and also Dhammapâla's commentary thereon, at the P. G. Mundyne Press (Rangoon, 1909-1910), and to his editions the following citations refer. Thus at the very beginning of the chapter on the Pure Practices or *dhûtaṅgas*, he gives the advantages of following them, and among them this, that a man gets a firm footing in the *ariyavaṁsâ* (text, p. 50, l. 7). The commentary (p. 82, l. 23) reflects distinctly the phraseology of the *Aṅguttara* text. At p. 54, l. 5, the text says that simplicity of clothing puts a man in the first *ariyavaṁsa*, according thus with the text of the *Aṅguttara* passage. At p. 56, l. 11, the text gives a little story beginning, "In a certain village there was preaching on the *Ariyavaṁsâ*" (so the comm., p. 88, l. 1). And at the end of the exquisite story translated in H. C. Warren's *Buddhism* (p. 434) under the Biblical title, *and hate not his father and mother*, p. 79, l. 15 of the text, the admiring mother is represented as saying that the Buddha must have had in mind just such a monk as her son when he preached the *Âryavaṁśa* course of conduct. Without implying that Buddhaghosha wrote the *Jâtaka* commentary, we may add that this same famous course of conduct is mentioned as something which Upananda preached but did not practice in *Jâtaka*, Vol. 2, p. 441, and Vol. 3, p. 332. In short, the evidence is ample to show that the text about the four *ariyavaṁsâ* was one of great distinction and very wide notoriety.

Number 3, Anâgata-bhayâni. Four *suttas* with this name appear in the *Aṅguttara-nikâya*, namely, *suttas* 77-80 of Vol. 3, pages 100-110. The first of these (No. 77) is a series of admonitions to lead a heedful and strenuous life in view of five possible kinds of danger, and is meant for the monk who is a forest hermit. The second (No. 78) is a series of admonitions to the same effect, in view of the coming on of age, disease, famine, war, or schism. The third (No. 79) is a prophecy of the dangers to arise in the future, with suitable admonitions to the monks to be on their guard and strive earnestly to avoid them. One of these dangers is that incompetent monks might attempt to teach the higher doctrine (*abhidhammakathâ*),—a strange *sutta* for Aśoka to urge upon the attention of lay sisters. The fourth *sutta* (No. 80) is like the third, except that the dangers to the religion concern luxury in clothing, food, and dwellings and the promiscuous living together of monks and nuns, and so forth. This last danger makes it unsuitable as a discourse to the laity.

Professor Davids picks out third *sutta* (No. 79) for identification with Aśoka's *Anâgata-bhayâni*. For the reason indicated in the previous paragraph, this seems to me wrong. And the like holds for the fourth. The first *sutta* (No. 77) is meant for a forest hermit and so I think that it is not intended by the author of the edict. There remains, therefore, only the second.

Number 5, Moneya-sûte. This, Professor Davids, identifies with the *Moneyya-sutta* which is found in the *Aṅguttara-nikâya*, Vol. 1, p. 273, and (with much less satisfactory detail) also at *Itivuttaka* number (not page) 67. The *kâya-moneyya* and *vachî-moneyya* are quite in accord with what we expect to find in the edict; but it is not so with the *mano-moneyya*, which implies attainments quite beyond the laity.

I would indentify Aśoka's *Moneya-sûte* with the *Nâlaka-sutta* (iii. 11) of the *Sutta-nipâta*, pp. 128-134 of Fausböll's edition. Stanzas 1-20 are a mere setting or narrative introduction.

At stanza 22, Nâlaka says to Buddha :—

"O wise one (*muni*), to me declare thou, being asked,
The state of wisdom (*moneyya*), the highest state."

Upon which Buddha proceeds to set forth to Nâlaka the factors of the simple life, simplicity in food and dwelling, chastity, harmlessness—the very things, in short, which constitute the fundamentals of the morality, which Aśoka enjoins. In this same *sutta*, the word *moneyya* recurs in stanzas 20, 23, and 38 ; and *muni*, at 20, 25, 30, 33, and 45 ; and *mona* is found at 40 and 45. The discourse is preached to Nâlaka and at his request, and is therefore called *Nâlaka-sutta* in the text ; but it was doubtless called also by the name of its subject, that is to say *moneyya*.

Examples of such double names for a single text are by no means rare, and a systematic search would probably reveal many. Several may be given. At *Visuddhi-magga*, p. 279, l. 26, Buddhaghosha cites some clauses from a *sutta* of the *Saṁyutta*, Vol. 5, p. 115-121, which, in the colophon, at p. 128, is called *Metta-sutta* ; but Buddhaghosha calls it *Haliddavasana-sutta*, because it was preached at Haliddavasana, a town of the Koliyans. Again, at page 193, lines 7 and 13, he cites two passages from *suttas* in the *Aṅguttara*; at Vol. 3, pages 312 and 314, which, in the colophon, at page 329, are called, the first, from its subject, *Anussati*, and the second, from the preacher, *kachchâna*. Buddhaghosha calls them respectively *Gedha-sutta* and *Sambâdhokâsa-sutta*. These names are taken from words that figure prominently in the *suttas*, and were quite likely older and more widely known than those of the artificial and bungling colophons. Other examples have been noted by Professor Lanman, in the proceedings of the American Academy for 1909, Vol. 44, p. 670, under the heading *Pali Book-titles*. Thus the story which is called *Aṇḍabhûta-jâtaka* in Fausböll's text (Vol. 1, p. 295), and the scene of which is sculptured on a medallion of the Bharhut tope, is named "*Yaṁ bramano avayesi jatakam*" upon the medallion, the name being taken from the first line of a stanza of the *Jâtaka* (p. 298, l. 23).

Finally, in Buddhaghosha's beautiful story (at *Visuddhimagga*, p. 79, l. 15) to which we have already referred, this *Nâlaka-sutta* is coupled with other *sutta*, the *Rathavinîta*, the *Tuvaṭṭaka*, and the *Mahâ-Ariyavaṁsa*. The first is presumably the text at *Majjhima-nikâya*, Vol. 1, p. 145 ; and the second is the text at *Sutta-nipâta*, p. 170. The *Ariyavaṁsa* is, as we saw above, a *sutta* of great distinction ; and the putting of the others with it clearly implies that they too were well-known texts. This consideration is therefore one of weight in favour of our identification.

Number 6, Upatisa-pasine. The Questions of Upatissa. Since Upatissa is a name for the great disciple Sâriputta, this title would be a fit one for any text which answers questions put by Sâriputta. Now *sutta* IV. 16 of *sutta-nipâta* (p. 176) consists of eight stanzas addressed by way of question to Buddha by Sâriputta, and of thirteen addressed by Buddha to his chief disciple in reply. Questions and answers alike concern the simple and righteous life, are free from abstract matters, and are wholly appropriate for the purpose of the edict. In the text the *sutta* is called *Sâriputta-sutta*, that is, it is called, like *Nâlaka-sutta*, after the name of the man to whom it is addressed. As we saw above, this fact does not in the least militate against our identifying the text with that which the edict calls Questions of Upatissa. The *Sutta-nipâta*, mostly in verse, is a very old and illustrious text, and it thus meets well the conditions of the problem. But I do not put forward this solution as a final one.

The identifications, as revised to date, accordingly, are :—

1. *Vinaya Samukase* ;
2. *Aliya-vasâni = Ariya-vaṁsâ*, *Aṅguttara*, Vol. 2, p. 27 ;
3. *Anâgata-bhayâni = Anâgata bhayâni*, *Aṅguttara*, Vol. 3, p. 103; *sutta* 78 ;
4. *Muni-gâthâ = Muni-sutta*, *Sutta-nipâta*, i. 12, p. 36 ;
5. *Moneya-sûte = Nâlaka-sutta*, *Sutta-nipâta*, iii. 11, p. 131-134 ;
6. *Upatisa-pasine = Sâriputta-sutta*, *Sutta-nipâta*, iv. 16 p. 176-179 ;
7. *Laghulovâde = Râhulovâda-sutta*, *Majjhima-nikâya*, ii. 2. 1, Vol. 1, p. 414[1].

[1] My best thanks are due to Prof. C. R. Lanman of Harvard University who has revised the English of my paper and the order of the arguments and has made some additions.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from Vol. XL, p. 310.*)

Lathâyit: a synonym for *thuladâr q. v.* (used by the Jâts in the south of the District.) Karnâl S. R., p. 92. Cf. *halhwâ.*

Lâthi : a pipe of a *hukka.* Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Lathwâ : a special village officer elected by the peasants themselves. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83 p. 321. Cf. *halhâyit.*

Laukra: fox. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Leh : a crevasse in a glacier.

Lehu or Liu : ? *Pyrus baccata.* Simla S. R., 1883, p. xliii.

Lekha chokkhâ: accounts, *e. g.*, *lekhâ jokhâ.*

Lenga : a petticoat. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Leva : a cotton cover for night. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Lha : (1) a scar or slip on a hillside: (2) in Tibetan, a demon or local divinity=*gâr.*

Lipti : wild thyme. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Lishak : adj. bright.

Lishaknâ : to lighten (*of clouds*).

Lobia : a vegetable (*Dolichos sinensis*). Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 123.

Logro : clothes. Bauria *argot.*

Lohâ : the valley beyond; *us riri ki, lohe men,* beyond that ridge, in the dip behind it. Kângra Gloss.

Lohûlu : a plough share.

Lohka : small.

Lohri : a festival held on 1st Magh, at which lighted torches are carried about. Chamba.

Lohri : thief; cf. *nauria rāla.* Bauria *argot.*

Lohri Lokro : a jackal. Bauria *argot.*

Loia : a woollen coat. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Lojh : *Symplocos crataegoides,* a tree, leaves fed to sheep and goats. Simla S. R., 1883, p. xliv.

Lokro : a jackal, see *lori* and cf. *lonkri,* fox : Bauria *argot.* Ex. *Lokro mâr âwiye.* 'Let us kill a jackal'.

Lolî : a curl or ringlet of hair.

Lonâî, lunâî : reaping.

Lonâva, lonâda : a reaper.

Lonchi : a fish (Wallago attu). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Londiâ : dog. Bauria *argot.*

Lonkri : fox. Cf. *lokro.*

Lonth : branches of trees cut with the leaves on for making a dam in a stream or canal. Kângra Gloss.

Lop : adj. hidden, disappeared.

Lotri : a small brass water pot. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Lowâta : shoes with leather soles and woollen tops, also called *chinjâr.* Simla S. R., 1883, p. xlv.

Ludî : a big kite.

Lugria : a shawl = *châdar.* Bauria *argot.*

Lukan chhippan : hide-and-seek. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 206.

Lunga: a mode of culture, which consists in steeping the seed and forcing it under warm grass to germinate. The seed, with the tender shoots is then thrown into the soil, which has previously been flooded to receive it. Cf. *much*. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Lunâî: reaping = *lonâî*.

Lut: hirpes, ringworm: Jullundur, see *P. Dy.*, p. 690.

Lûtia lotri *q. v.* Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Lwela: afternoon.

Mâ: not—in imperatives: Bauria *argot*: as *bol mâ*. 'Do not speak.'

Machhîâl: a variety of cobra. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Mâchho: a bed. Bauria *argot*.

Madhari: = *dhutgâlû* q. v.

Mag: the barred-headed goose and the grey goose. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 14.

Magda: a sandy loam soil. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 6.

Mâghî: see *Uttarain*. Festival in honour of ancestors in Pângi: held on 1st Mâgh. They give *roti* to the Hâlis in the name of a deceased son.

Mâh: meat. Bauria *argot*.

Mâhâjal: a seine used in still water. Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Mâhâsir: a fish (*Barbus mosal*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Mahchapul: a mixture of *mah* and *kult*, two kinds of pulse. Kângra S. R., p. 28.

Mahen: a male buffalo.

Mâhi: a heavy horizontal block of wood, drawn by oxen to smooth the surface of a field. Kângra S. R., p. 29.

Mahlûndhi: see *mâlundi*.

Mahora: a cattle-shed. Gurgaon.

Mahr: a collector of revenue, for a village. Bilâspur.

Mailâni: the money paid by land-owners for the sheep's droppings when folded on their land. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 39.

Ma'in or Jhol: a clod-crusher—the *maira* of the Punjab plains. Simla S. R., 1883, p. xlv.

Maira kalari: the *maira* (sandy loam) land with an admixture of saltpetre. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 69.

Maira retar: very sandy *maira* (sandy loam). Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 69.

Majori: the top of the culm (*tilu*) of *mûnj* together with the sheathing petiole (*mûnj*) of the *mûnj*. Karnâl S. R., p. 14.

Mâjra: a small outlying hamlet in the village area in which are settled cultivators who till the surrounding land. Cf. *garhi*. Karnâl S. R., p. 76.

Makâl: an altar built by the sugar press where 5 *ganderis* and a little of the first juice expressed and $1\frac{1}{4}$ seers of the first *gur* made are offered up, and then given to a Brâhman. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 182.

Makiya: constable. Bauria *argot*.

Makkar sankrânt: the 1st day of Mâgh. Chamba.

Makol: white clay — see *golenâ*.

Makrab: a grass — with a blossom like a wood-louse. Rohtak.

Mâkri: a flat piece of wood with a socket in its highest end to which *mînak* is tied. Karnâl S. R. 1872-80, p. 161.

Mâlrâb: the material from which drained sugar is made. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 82.

Mâla: withies. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 163.

Malain: a whole dried up plant of rice. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 186.

Malâran: the dam of a *kûl* (canal) in Kullu. Cf. *dang*. Kângra S. R., p. 92.

Maleksh: a devil = *daint*, a devil regarded as impure. Chamba.

Malernâ: to manure. Kângra Gloss.

Mâlik kandah: 'master of the flock', = mahlûndhî; see *mâlundi*.

Malmala mawkish: Rohtak.

Mâlundi: the captain or leader of a flock, a term used by Gaddi shepherds.

Mâshti: a box. Simla S. R., 1883, p. xlv.

Mauru: *Quercus dilatata*, its leaves are cut in winter as fodder: hard wood, and used for charcoal. Simla S. R., 1883, p. xliii.

Mend (?): Simla S. R., 1883, p. xlv.

Methun: *Fenugreek*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. xxxix.

Mân: (1) chastity: if a betrothal is broken off by the boy he must pay the girl Rs. 6 for her *mân*: (2) reconciliation, so a due or fee of Rs. 6 paid (a) by a man to his first wife on taking a second and (b) to a wife who is divorced. Pângi.

Mânak: the connecting rod fastened to the beam to which the oxen are fastened in a sugar press. Cf. *thamba*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 161.

Manakh: man. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Mând: ground-floor: also used trans-Giri.

Mand chhal: *chhal* in an island in a river. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Mand ghassû: *ghassû* in an island in a river. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Mandal: a handle. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 160.

Mandhauna: the cloth on which *mâp* full of grain is emptied. Cf. *risâna*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 174,

Mâng: demand. Cf. *khich*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 189.

Mangalâ mukhî: a ceremony corresponding to the baptism of the Sikhs and Bishnoîs. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 164.

Mangari: a fish (*clarias magur*). Cf. *mungri*. Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Mângi: a milk pot with a round brim. Cf. *jhâb*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Mânjhi: first floor roof. Sirmûr trans-Giri.

Manni: a high stony ridge near the end of the Siwâlik range in the Dasûya tahsîl. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 4.

Mangnî: a millet (*Panicum italicum*). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Mâni: the big flat stone in front of a *bauli* where people stand to draw water, bathe, etc.

Manj: in the middle. Kângra Gloss.

Mânj: a ladder, see *sâng*.

Mânjah: a hoe for weeding. Kângra S. R., p. 29.

Mantorî: (Kullû) a burning *ghât*—see *tîrath*.

Mânu: a man as distinguished from an animal, a form of *manukh*.

Manukh, a man; Kângra. Cf. *manakh* and mânu.

Manûkh: a man. Bauria *argot*.

Mâr: a clod-crusher. Jubbal.

Mâṛa: a village headman. Bauria *argot*.

Marabia: a large and sweet mango fruit, with a small stone. Used principally for making preserves (*maraba*). Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Maraili: adj. savage.

Marâyan: straw. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 230.

Margoza: see *ak-kâ-mâma.*

Mârî: the shrine of Gûga Pîr (the greatest of the snake-kings). Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 151.

Mari nakhna: to beat. Bauria *argot.*

Marîla: a little of the crop left for the poor. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 172.

Martali: see *tîrath.* Cf. *marthiâl.*

Marthiâl: a place where corpses are burnt: *mantoru* torn in Kullû.

Mâru: an unirrigated land. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 94.

Mase kiwen: with some difficulty.

Maser sass: mother-in-law's sister: wife's maternal aunt.

Match: (*sic*) (? *much*) a kind of harrow without teeth, used to make soil into soft mud before sowing rice. Kângra Gloss.

Matha: s. m. forehead; *mathe kajjî*, modest (of a woman): *mathâ ṭeknâ*, to bow.

Mathîk: the bank over which water is to be lifted. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 171.

Matkana: a small cup made of pottery. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Matri: 'motherly,' a title of Devi Adshakti at Kacheri. Matri Deora is another temple on the ridge above Kacheri village called Tikkar in Chamba.

Matti kâdna: a form of worship which consists in scooping out a little hollow in the earth by the shrine and flinging the soil on to a heap. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 145.

Matwâla: sweet—of water, which causes a crop to fill profusely, but with a weak stalk. Rohtak.

Matwâla: hard, a sort of water, the crops irrigated by it are generally good. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 8.

Mawa: (*Bassia latifolia*;) a tree. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 13.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

MOOR'S HINDU PANTHEON.

THE author of the *Hindu Pantheon* (1810) rightly deemed his Plate XVII, a representation of Mahâdêo and Pârvatî, to be the gem of his book. 'The painting or drawing from which Plate 17 is engraved is, I think,' he wrote, 'the most beautiful and highly finished thing I ever saw. I purchased it at Poona for forty rupees (five pounds), but for some time the seller demanded a hundred (twelve guineas) for it.'

That painting was exhibited as No. 1163 a, the Indian Court of the Festival of Empire, 1911, by Major E. C. Moor of the Rosary, Great Bealings, Ipswich, the author's grandson, who also showed a number of objects, the originals from which the plates of images, etc., in the *Hindu Pantheon* were engraved.

The mythological collection is for sale and might be purchased for a museum.

V. A. S.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SHAH JAHAN TRANSLATED AS KING JOHN. A GOOD 'HOBSON-JOBSON.'

1634. "And that we might leave nothing undone, which might advantage his resolutions, according to the order of the late Mogull, he changed his name from Currone [Kurram] to Shaw Jehan, or King John, thinking by that, in some sort, to appease the people's hatred." Herbert, *Description of the Persian Monarchy, now being the Orientall Indyes*, p. 31, in the course of a very inaccurate account of the Emperor Shah Jahan.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE VEDIC CALENDAR.

BY R. SHAMASHASTRY, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., MYSORE.

(*Continued from page* 32.)

THE meaning of the above passage is this :—Giving up a practice of adding twelve days to the synodic lunar year of 354 days in order to adjust it to the sidereal solar year of 366 days, the Vedic poets allowed the twelve days to accumulate to the extent of a month in the course of two and a half years, and then performed their sacrifice at the close of the thirteenth month with thirteen priests, of whom the thirteenth priest represented the thirteenth month, the 'dirty' month, and took up the sins of the sacrificer for the gold that was presented to him.

In the *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇa*, i, 12, the thirteenth priest is called Sôma-vikrayin, 'seller of Sôma.' This passage, with a brief commentary upon it by Raghunandana Bhaṭṭâchârya, the author of the *Smṛititattva*, runs as follows[8] :—

प्राच्यां दिशि वै देवाः सोमं राजानमक्रीणंस्तस्मात्प्राच्यां दिशि क्रीणते त्रयोदशान्मासादक्रीणंस्तस्मा-त्रयोदशो मासो नानुविद्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयीति. अस्यायमर्थः

यतोऽधिमासस्सोमविक्रयी अतोऽसावितरमासवन्नानुविद्यते. विद्यमानोऽपि कर्मानर्हत्वादसन्निवेत्यर्थः सोमविक्रय्यपि ऋत्विगंतरवत्.

"The gods bought the king Sôma in the eastern direction. Thence he is (*generally*) bought in the eastern direction. They bought him from the thirteenth month. Thence the thirteenth month is found unfit (*for any religious work to be done in it*) ; a seller of Sôma is (*likewise*) found unfit (*for intercourse*), for such a man is a defaulter." The meaning of the passage is this :—"Because the intercalated month is the seller of Sôma, therefore it has no proper existence like other months. Although it has its own existence, it is yet regarded as having no proper existence inasmuch as no rites are performed in it. The seller of Sôma is like other priests employed for the performance of sacrifice."

As regards the sinful nature of intercalated months, the author of the *Smṛititattva*, quotes the following passage[9] :—

वत्सरांतर्गतः पापः यज्ञानां फलनाशकृत् ।
नैर्ऋतैर्यातुधानाद्यैस्समाक्रांतो विनामकः ॥
इत्यादि ज्योतिश्शास्त्रे.
विरुद्धनामको विनामकः कुतः मलिम्लुचादिनामकत्वात्.

"(*The intercalated month*) contained in the body of the year, is sinful, is destructive of the good results of sacrifices, is infested by Nairṛita, Yâtudhâna, and other evil spirits, and is of a disagreeable name. This and other passages are found in astrological works. The word *vinâmaka* means 'that which has a disagreeable name'; for it has Malimlucha and other (*disgusting*) names."

The three passages quoted above throw a flood of light on the nature of the conception which the Vedic poets entertained regarding the intercalary days and months. We have to understand the three important points specified in these passages :—

(1) At first the Vedic poets used to adjust their lunar year with the sidereal solar year by adding twelve days to the former, but in the course of time they gave up that custom and began to intercalate one month to every third lunar year.

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[8] *Smṛititattva*, p. 782.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 778.

(2) Instead of performing any sacrifice during the intercalated period, they spent that period in performing such accessory rites as are called *Upasad* or sessions and *Dîkshâ* or rites of initiation.

(3) They regarded the intercalated days as being infested by evil spirits and enemies. It is therefore probable that the apparent acts of sorcery undertaken in connection with every kind of sacrifice in order to drive out or to destroy 'those who hated the poets and whom the poets hated', are acts intended to symbolise the fact of getting rid of an intercalated period. Since an intercalated period is regarded, not only as being burdened with dirt or sin, but also as being infested by Varuṇa, Nirṛiti, and other good or evil spirits with nooses in their hands to bind their victims, it is probable that, during an intercalated period, the Vedic poets regarded themselves, not only as being burdened with sin, but also as being bound with the noose (*pâśa*) of Varuṇa or Nirṛiti. It also follows that the removal of sin or of Varuṇa's fetters at the close of a period of twelve or twenty-one days, is a technical expression of the Vedic poets implying the intercalary nature of those days. The removal of guilt at the close of the twelve intercalated days is thus referred to in the *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇa*, IV. 4, 24 :—

त्रयश्च वा एते त्र्यहा आदशममहरह्वावतिरात्रौ यद्वादशाहो द्वादशाहानि दीक्षितो भवति. यज्ञिय एव तैर्भवति द्वादश रात्रीरुपसद उपैति. शरीरमेव ताभिर्धुनुते. द्वादशाहं प्रसूते भूत्वा शरीरं धूत्वा शुद्धः पूतो देवता अप्येति. य एवं वेद. षट्त्रिंशदहो वा एष यद्द्वादशाहः ।

"The Dvâdaśâha consists of thrice three days together with the tenth day and two Atirâtra days. After having undergone the ceremony of initiation during twelve days one becomes fit for performing the sacrifice. During the twelve days he undergoes the *Upasad* or the vow of fasting. By means of them he shakes off all guilt from his body. He who has such a knowledge becomes purified and clean, and enters the deities after having, during (*these*) twelve days, been born anew and shaken off (*all guilt*) from his body. The Dvâdaśâha consists (*on the whole*) of thirty-six days."

The thirty-six days referred to in this passage are three sets of twelve days each, constituting the difference between three lunar and three sidereal solar years. The *Atharvavêda* = (Rig. v. vii. 103. 1) IV. 15. 13, also speaks of the twelve days' vow as follows :—

संवत्सरं शशयाना ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिणः ।
वाचं पर्जन्यजिन्वितां प्रमंडूका अवादिषुः ।

"Having lain for a year, (*like*) Brâhmans performing a vow, the frogs have spoken forth a voice quickened by *parjanya* [the raining clouds]."

So also the same says IV. 11. 11 :—

द्वादश वा एता रात्रीर्व्रत्या आहुः प्रजापतेः ॥
तत्रोप ब्रह्म यो वेद तद्वा अनडुहो व्रतम् ॥

"Twelve, indeed, they declare those nights of the vow of Prajâpati; whoso knows the *Brahman* within them—that verily is the vow of the draught-ox."

The release from Varuṇa's fetters at the close of twenty-one days is thus referred to in the *Atharvavêda*, iv. 16. 6 :—

ये ते पाशा वरुण सप्त सप्त त्रेधा तिष्ठंति विषिता रुशंतः ।
सिनंतु सर्वे अनृतं वदंतं यः सत्यवद्यति तं सृजंतु ॥

"What fetters of thine, O Varuṇa, seven by seven, stand triply relaxed, shining—let them all bind him that speaks untruth; whoso is truth-speaking, let them let him go."

I presume that the expression of three times seven milch kine pouring their milky draught, as referred to in the two verses of the *Sâmavêda* quoted above, implies the same idea as that of an intercalated period of twenty-one days. From the consideration of these and other similar passages too numerous to be quoted here, we may conclude that expressions such as 'the milking of the kine,' 'the destruction of evil spirits or of enemies,' and 'the release from the fetters of Varuṇa or of Nirṛiti,' are Vedic expressions implying the passing off of an intercalated period.

I think that the symbolical acts of cutting off the branch of a Palâśa tree, and of separating the calves from the cows for the purpose of milking them during the night, and of destroying the evil spirits and enemies, as described in the very beginning of the Black Yajurvêda, are also meant to signify the passing off of an intercalated period. Among the Chinese the twelve months of the year are called the twelve branches; and it is probable that the Vedic poets, too, called the months, whether ordinary or intercalary, by the name of *śâkhâs* or branches. As already pointed out in the above pages and also in my essay entitled *Gavâm-Ayana: the Vedic Era*, published in 1908, the term 'cow' is a name given to the New Year's Day as well as to the intercalated day; and her 'calves' must therefore mean the days of the subsequent year or cycle of years. We have also seen how the symbolical act of burning the evil spirits and enemies signifies the passing off of an intercalated period. Accordingly the first two *Anuvâks* or paragraphs of the first *kâṇḍa* of the Black Yajurvêda may possibly refer to the cutting off of an intercalated branch or month, and to the separation of some New Years' Days or bissextile intercalated days, termed 'cows,' from their calves or the consecutive days of the subsequent year or cycle of years. In order to see whether the passage gives this meaning or not, it is necessary that we should examine the interpretation given to it by Bhaṭṭa Bhâskara and other commentators. The passage runs as follows, i. 1. 1 :—

इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा वायवस्थोपायवस्थ देवो वस्सविता प्रार्पयतु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे आप्यायध्वमघ्निया देवभाग-मूर्जस्वतीः पयस्वतीरनमीवा अयक्ष्मा मावस्स्तेन ईशत माघशंसः रुद्रस्य हेतिः परि वो वृणक्तु ध्रुवा अस्मिन्गोपतौ स्यात बह्वीर्यजमानस्य पशून्पाहि (1). य ज्ञस्य घोषिदसि प्रत्युष्टं रक्षः प्रत्युष्टा अरातयः,

In accordance with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhâskara and others on these passages, they can be translated thus :—

" O Branch, thou art for *isha* [food], and for *ûrja* [strength]; O calves, ye are swift runners like the wind, and ye come back again; O cows, may the bright sun lead you for the purpose of our best sacrificial rites; O inviolable cows, yield the share of the gods, ye who are possessed of strength, milk, and calves, and who are free from consumption and other diseases. May the thief have no power over you; may the slaughterer not touch you; may the thunderbolt of Rudra quit you on all sides; be ye firm in the possession of this cowherd; preserve ye the numerous cows of the sacrificer; O sword, thou art the announcer of the sacrifice; burnt is the devil and burnt are the enemies. "

Here the sacrificer is required to repeat the first four words of the original, and to cut off a branch of the Palâśa tree for use in the sacrifice. The next four words are addressed to calves which are to be separated from their mothers, the cows. The following sentences up to 'burnt is the devil' are addressed to cows. Then comes the symbolical act of burning the evil spirits and enemies. These symbolical acts, which are usually performed by sacrificers in connection with all full-moon and new-moon sacrifices, appear to render the explanation of the commentators plausible and perhaps representative of the only meaning intended by the poet. But when we try to make the detached thoughts and acts into a connected whole, we feel the difficulty. So long as we accept the interpretation of the commentators, we fail to understand the aim of the poet who gave expressions to these thoughts and devised the symbolic acts: the thoughts and acts are so disconnected that they appear to have originated in some disordered mind. But if we take the 'branch' in the sense of an intercalated month which is to be placed between the months of Isha and Ûrja (Âśvina and Kârttika) and is to be symbolically burnt as an evil spirit and an enemy, and if we take the calves as the days of an ordinary year whose wife is elsewhere said to be the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Mâgha and is called a cow bringing forth the days or calves of the next year, the disjointed thoughts arrange themselves into a connected whole. It is probable that it was the lack of proper astronomical terms to designate the various parts of the year that led the Vedic poets to talk of them in terms of the branches of a tree and cows and calves.

Whether or not the meaning of the first two paragraphs of the *Kṛishṇa-Yajurvêda* is, as I have presumed it to be, this much is certain, that the Vedic poets were quite familiar with various kinds of years and knew how to adjust them with each other, and that the detailed description of calendars given in the Sûtras is but a copy of Vedic calendars and not a later invention.

II.—The Calendar.

Having thus proved the existence of a calendar during the Vedic times, I may now proceed to frame that calendar and its various forms out of the materials scattered here and there in the Sûtras and Brâhmaṇas. The general name by which the various forms of the Vedic calendar were known seems to have been Gavâm-Ayana. It is only one of many forms of the Vedic calendar that I attempted to explain in my essay entitled '*Gavâm-Ayana*,' *the Vedic Era*, published in 1908. Therein I have pointed out: (1) that the word *gô*, 'cow,' means the intercalary day, *i e.*, that day which is the product of the four quarter-days at the end of four successive solar years, each of 365¼ days; (2) that the term Gavâm-Ayana or "Cows' Walk" means a series of such intercalary days, on each of which the Vedic poets regularly performed cyclic sacrifices; and (3) that in the Mahad-Uktha or Great Litany of Ṛigvêdic hymns they kept a record of 460 or 465 intercalated days as having elapsed.

As the evidence I adduced in support of this theory is of an indirect and hypothetical nature, scholars have hesitated to accept it, and have opined that the passages which I explained in the light of this theory could bear other and perhaps more rational interpretations, and that my theory was rather an ingenious contrivance than a discovery of the real design of the Vedic poets. Probably no theory that is not based upon direct evidence is ever accepted; mine can be no exception, and would share the fate of other theories if, like them, it had no direct evidence to support it. But the *Nidâna-Sûtra* of the *Sâma-vêda* seems to supply the want. From this Sûtra we learn that Gavâm-Ayana is a name given to the year which contained some intercalated days inserted either in its middle or at its close. It appears that the number of days intercalated differed with different schools of Vedic astronomers, and depended upon the difference between any two kinds of years selected for adjustment with each other. The school which had adopted the synodic lunar year of 354 days and the sidereal solar year of 366 days seems to have added to every lunar year a Dvâdaśâha or period of twelve days, during which they performed a sacrifice with recitation of a Sâma-chant of twelve verses on the last day. With the school which had adopted the sidereal lunar year of 351 days, *i.e.*, the year of thirteen months of 27 days each, and adjusted it with the Sâvana year of 360 days, the number of days added was nine. Those who had adopted the Sâvana year of 360 days and adjusted it with the solar year of 365¼ days, seem to have been adding 21 days to every fourth Sâvana year. In this way there seems to have been during the Vedic period a variety of different astronomical schools, whose chief religious function was the performance of a grand sacrifice during each period of their respective intercalary days. A regular account of the 'cows' or intercalary days which each school counted and observed is found preserved under the general title of Gavâm-Ayana, "the walk of cows or intercalary days." The term Gavâm-Ayana seems to have been originally intended to be a name of only the intercalary days; but in the course of time it appears to have also been used to signify that year which contained intercalary days added to it, no matter whether the number of days so added, or counted as having been added, amounted to a year or more than a year. These and other important points connected with the Vedic calendar are clearly explained both in the *Nidâna-Sûtra* and in the *Srauta-Sûtra* of Lâṭyâyana; and it is a matter for regret that, important as these works are for elucidating the much-vexed question of Vedic chronology, they have so long escaped the notice of oriental scholars. It is true that the Sûtras in general abound in elliptical and technical obscurities which sometimes render their meaning uncertain and vague; still, so far as their main idea or purport is concerned, they leave us in no doubt whatever.

The passage of the *Nidâna-Sûtra* in which a few forms of Gavâm-Ayana are defined, runs as follows, v. 11, 12 :—

[10] अथातस्संवत्सरा वर्गाणां पंचसंवत्सरा वर्गाः[11] तेषु धीरो मनीषया कर्मण उपसदो विद्यात् संस्था वा एषु व्रतानि च. षट्त्रिंशोनो नवोनश्च षडहोनोऽथ सावनोऽष्टादशभिर्ज्यायानहोभिः सावनात्परो नाक्षत्रमिति मासश्च तस्य चैव त्रयोदश. चांद्रमसस्सावनश्चोभावथाष्टादश्युत्तमोऽष्टा सप्तत्रिंशते पौर्णमास्यां प्रसाधयेत् ।

गवामयनस्योपायांश्चतुरः प्रतिपादयेत्. तेषां नाक्षत्रः प्रथमस्तस्य सप्त विंशिनो मासाः सप्तविंशतिर्नक्षत्राणीति. तस्य कल्पः प्रथमस्य प्रथमस्याभिप्लवस्य स्थाने त्रिकद्रुकत्र्यहं कुर्यात्प्राग्विषुवत उत्तमस्योत्तमस्योर्द्ध्वं. विषुवतः ते खल्वभिप्लवतंत्र एव क्लृप्ताः स्युरित्येके. एते चाधिकृता न चापि निवर्तयत्यथापि दृश्यते त्र्यहस्त्र्यहतंत्रे क्लृप्तो यथा स्वरसामानस्त्रिकद्रुकपंचाहश्चाभिप्लवतंत्रे सप्तदशरात्रे । स्वरतंत्रा इत्यपरम्. एवं च तंत्राविलोपः अपि च सेत्रषु त्रिकद्रुकत्र्यहः स्वतंत्रो भवति.

अथ नवोनस्तस्यैवं त्रयोदश मासाः संभार्ययोर्मासयोर्नवाहं लुंपेच्चतुरहमेव प्राग्विषुवतः पंचाहमूर्ध्वं तस्य कल्पः प्रथमस्याभिप्लवस्य स्थाने ज्योतिषं च गां च कुर्यात्प्राग्विषुवत ऊर्ध्वं विषुवत उत्तमस्याभिप्लवस्य स्थाने ज्योतिषं. नात्र विषुवानभिभवत्युत्तरेऽत्र पक्षसि विषुवानुपसंख्यायत इति.

अथ षडूनाश्चांद्रमसाः षट्पूर्णोपक्रमाः ऊनावसानाः पूर्वे पक्षसि मासास्स्युः ऊनोपक्रमाः पूर्णावसाना उत्तरे. तस्य कल्पः प्रथमस्य प्रथमास्याभिप्लवस्य स्थानेऽभिप्लवपंचाहं कुर्यात्प्राग्विषुवत ऊनेषु मासेषु उत्तमस्योत्तमस्योर्ध्वं विषुवतः ।

व्याख्यातस्सावनः। स एष आदित्यसंवत्सरो नाक्षत्र आदित्यः खलु शश्वदेतावद्भिरहोभिर्नक्षत्राणि समवैतित्रयोदशाहं त्रयोदशाहमेकैकं नक्षत्रमुपतिष्ठत्यहस्तृतीयं च नवधा कृतयोरहोरात्रयोर्द्वे द्वे कले चेति. सांवत्सरास्ताश्चतुष्पंचाशतं कलाः ते षण्नववर्गाः स षट् षष्ठित्रिशतः षष्ठित्रिशते । श्लोकौ भवतः—

सप्तविंशती राष्ट्रस्य राज्ञो वसतयो मिताः ।
त्रयोदशाहं त्रयोदशाहमेकैकं नक्षत्रमुपतिष्ठति ॥
त्रयोदशाहानि तृतीय मह्नश्चतस्त्रेधा दशतयो विकुर्वन् ।
त्रिणवं पंथानं विततं पुराणं चत्वारिंशता नवरात्रैस्समश्नुते ॥ इति.

अथाष्टादशभिर्ज्यायानादित्यसंवत्सर एव तैर्यगयनिको भवति. आदित्यः खलु शश्वदेकदा षण्मासानुदङ्ङेति नव चाहानि तथा दक्षिणा. तदप्येते श्लोका भवंतिः—

यस्मिन्वै परिवत्सरे
सौम्यो मासोऽथ चांद्रमसो ।
नाक्षत्रो न विलुप्यते
कस्स्वित्तं वेद क स्विवत् ॥
अष्टासप्तत्रिंशते तस्मिन्
संवत्सरे मिते ।
सौर्यो मासोऽथ चांद्रमसो
नाक्षत्रो न विलुप्यते ॥
सप्तविंशतिमेवैष सप्ता हानेति दक्षिणा ।
तथोदङ् सप्तविंशतिमिति ॥

तस्य कल्पः संभार्ययोर्मासयोरष्टादशाहान्युपाहरेन्नवाहमेव प्राग्विषुवतः नवाहमूर्ध्वं त्रिकद्रुकांश्चाभिप्लवं च प्राग्विषुवतोऽभिप्लवं च त्रिकद्रुकांश्चावृत्तानूर्ध्वं विषुवतः।

Then the years of the classes:[11] the classes (*are*) of five years. In them the sage by his wisdom will know the sessions of the ritual,[12] and the basic forms (*of the sacrificial rites*),[13] and the vows *or* ceremonies (*to be observed*) in them.

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[10] From पंच° to सावनात्परो (for °रः)—and perhaps farther—seems to be a metrical quotation from some other work; with one or two words separated, and one omitted.—J. F. Fleet.

[11] *Varga* is not fairly to be rendered by 'cycle.' Cycle is *yuga* or *chakra*: *varga* is a 'group, class.'—J. F. Fleet.

[12] *Upasad:* lit. 'the sitting down, waiting for the arrival of the final sacrificial day.'

[13] *Saṁsthâ;* lit. 'a staying or abiding together.'

" (*The year*) which is less (*than the Sâvana year*) by 36 (*days*); that which is less by 9 (*days*); that which is less by 6 (*days*); then the Sâvana year (*of 360 days*); then the year which is greater than the Sâvana year by 18 days. The sidereal year (*of 351 days*) has a thirteenth month (*of 27 days*). Then the two kinds of years: the lunar and the Sâvana. Then the year which is greater than the Sâvana year by 18 days: one has to observe (*it*) on every 38th or 37th full-moon.

" He has to know the four forms of Gavâm-Ayana. Of them, the sidereal year (*of 324 days*) is the first; its months are of 27 days each, because there are 27 *nakshatras*. The mode of observing it (*is this*): in the place of each first [period of six days called] *Abhiplava* (*of every month of 30 days*) before the central day (*of the year*), one should observe [a period of only three days known as] *Trikadruka*:[14] (*likewise in the place*) of each last (*Abhiplava*) after the central day. Some say that they (*the Trikadruka days*) are so devised as to be of the same form as the *Abhiplava* days; they have their place here; nor is their observance opposed to that of the *Abhiplava* days. It is also known that, like the *Svarasâman* days,[15] the unit of three days [the *Trikadruka* days] is devised as a special period of three days. The three *Trikadruka* days, as well as the five days of the six *Abhiplava* days are observed together in the sacrificial session of seventeen nights.[16] Others say that the *Trikadruka* days are the same as the *Svarasâman* days. And thus the usual form of the calendar days and their rites is not lost; for the *Trikadruka* days have their own independent place in all sacrificial sessions.

" Then (*the year of 351 days*) which is less (*than the Sâvana year*) by nine days:[17] thus it has thirteen months (*each of 27 days*). He has to omit nine days in the two intercalary months [*saṁbhârya*;[18] *i.e.*, the sixth and the seventh month, each of 30 days]; four days (*are to be omitted*) before the central day of the year, and five days after it. This is how it is done: in the place of the first *Abhiplava* (*of the sixth month of 30 days*) before the central day, only two days known as *jyôtis* and *go*, are to be observed; and in the place of the last *Abhiplava* (*of the seventh month*) after the central day, only one day, known as *jyôtis*, is to be observed. No central day occurs in the year (*of 351 days*); for it is counted in its latter half.

" Then the lunar years (*of 354 days*) which are less (*than the Sâvana year*) by six days:[19] in the first half (*of this year*) there are six months, beginning with one which is full [*i. e.*, consists of 30 days] and ending with one which is deficient [*i.e.*, contains only 29 days]; in the latter (*half there are six months*), beginning with one which is deficient and ending with one which is full. This is how it is observed: in the deficient months before the central day, in the place of each first *Abhiplava* one should observe (*only*) five days of *Abhiplava*; (*likewise in the place*) of each last (*Abhiplava*) in the deficient months after the central day.

[14] *Trikadruka* is the name given to a unit of three days, of which the first day is called *jyôtis*, 'light', the second *gô*, 'cow', and the third *âyus*, 'life'. *Abhiplava* is the name given to a unit of six days, of which the first three days are named like the *Trikadruka* days and the last three days are called *gô*, *âyus*, and *jyôtis*.

[15] *Svarasâman* is a name given to the three days before and after the central day of a sacrificial session. Special Sâma-chants are sung on these six days. If the *Trikadruka* days were considered as identical with the *Svarasâman* days, which are strictly observed immediately before and after the central day of a sacrificial session, the other days of the session would be counted in periods of six days each. This appears to be the meaning of 'an independent place for the *Trikadruka* days.'

[16] The 17 nights seem to me to be the nights of 6 *Svarasâman* days plus 6 *Trikadruka* days plus 5 *Abhiplava* days.—J. F. Fleet.

[17] See Calendar, Form II. below.

[18] [I do not see how *saṁbhârya* can be fairly rendered by 'intercalary'. It means 'that which may be brought together', and seems to mean, rather, 'the two months which are susceptible of contraction by shortening'.—J. F. Fleet.]

[19] See Calendar, Form III. below.

"The Sâvana year (*of 360 days*)[20] has been explained. It is this same sidereal year of the sun.[21] The sun is known to pass through (*each of*) the *nakshatras* in a fixed number of days: he remains in each *nakshatra* for thirteen and thirteen days, together with a third part of a day and two out of nine *kalâs* or parts of a day-and-night [*i. e.*, of a whole day]: these *kalâs* or parts amount in a year to 54, and are equal to six times nine *kalâs* [*i. e.*, 6 days] : thus it consists of 366 (*days*) as contrasted with the (*Sâvana year*) consisting of 360 (*days*). There are two verses about this :—

" 'Twenty-seven are the mansions in the king's [*i. e.*, the Sun's] dominion ; thirteen and thirteen days he resides in each *nakshatra* : thirteen days and one-third of a day ; thus dividing four times ten days into three (*equal*) parts, he traverses the broad and ancient path of thrice nine stations in the course of forty periods, each of nine nights.'

"Then the year of the sun (*of 378 days*)[22] which is greater (*than the Sâvana year*) by eighteen days ; this indeed is made by his transverse motion ;[23] it is well known that the sun always goes to the North for six months and nine days, and likewise to the South. Accordingly there are the following verses:—

" Who knows that year in which the solar, the lunar, and the sidereal months are not lost, who knows that ? In the year measured by 37 or 38 (*full-moons*), the solar, the lunar, and the sidereal months are not lost. The sun goes to the South for twenty-seven times seven days, and likewise to the North for twenty-seven times seven days.

"This is how this year is observed :—In the two intercalary months,[24] one should intercalate eighteen days; nine days before the central day of the year and nine days after it; three *Trikadruka* days and six *Abhiplava* days before the central day, and six *Abhiplava* days and three *Trikadruka* days after the central day."

Similar forms of calendar, together with some more varieties, are also described in the *Śrauta-Sûtra* of Lâṭyâyana, iv. 8, 1—7. This is what he says :—

ज्योतिषामयन विकल्पाः । तत्र यदादितोऽन्ततस्तदूर्ध्वं विषुवतः । मासि मास्याद्यस्याभिप्लवस्य स्थाने त्रिकद्रुकाः । स षट्त्रिंशदूनो नाक्षत्रस्सप्तविंशिनो हि मासाः । षष्ठाद्यस्याभिप्लवस्य स्थाने ज्योतिर्गौश्च ज्योतिरेवावृत्ते स नवोनो नाक्षत्र एव त्रयोदशी । युग्ममासेष्वाद्यस्याभिप्लवस्य स्थाने तत्पंचाहः स षडूनश्चांद्रमसः । षष्ठादौ त्रिकद्रुकानभिप्लवं चोपदध्यात् सोऽष्टादशाधिकः पौर्णमासीप्रसवस्तैर्येगयनिक आदित्यस्य ।

" Varieties of the movements of the heavenly luminaries. In the calendar pertaining to these movements, that which is observed at the beginning (*of each month*) before the central day, is observed at the close (*of each month*) after the central day. In the place of the first six *Abhiplava* days in each month, only three *Trikadruka* days are observed. Thus this sidereal lunar year is less (*than the Sâvana year*) by 36 days, since its months consist of 27 days each.

"In the place of the first six *Abhiplava* days of the sixth month (*of the Sâvana year*), there are observed only two days, known as *jyôtis* and *gô* ; and in the second part of the year, which is

[20] See Calendar, Form I., and for the year of 363 days, see Form IV. below.

[21] [The text treats here in a somewhat obscure manner of *both* the Sâvana year of 360 days *and* the sidereal solar year of 366 days. The latter is not mentioned as one of the five classes of years in the beginning of the passage. The text seems to suggest that the Sâvana year, before being regarded as = 30 days × 12, was a sidereal year of 27 × 13⅓ days, and that the year of 366 days, = 27 × 13⅝, was a refinement of it, as a result of experience showing that the sun required ⅜ of a day more time to pass through each *nakshatra*.—J. F. Fleet.

[22] See Calendar, Form IV. below.

[23] The motion from South to North and back again, which the sun seems to have in passing from solstice to solstice, is transverse, at right angles, to his actual motion from West to East through the *nakshatras*.—J. F. Fleet.

[24] See Note 18, above.

merely a repetition of the first part, only one day, known as *jyôtis*, is observed in the place of the last six *Abhiplava* days (*of the seventh month*); thus it is less (*than the Sâvana year*) by nine days, and is a sidereal year having a thirteenth month.[25]

"In the place of the first six *Abhiplava* days in all the even months, only five *Abhiplava* days are observed; this is less (*than the Sâvana year*) by six days, and is lunar.[26]

"In the beginning of the sixth month, one should intercalate three *Trikadruka* days and six *Abhiplava* days; [27] thus it is greater (*than the Sâvana year*) by 18 days, and is productive of a full-moon; and it is caused by the transverse motion of the sun."[28]

Besides the three forms of calendar mentioned above, which are similar to those described in the *Nidâna-sutra*, a few more varieties also are noticed in the Lâṭyâyana *Srauta sûtra*. As some of these varieties are referred to, though only briefly, in the *Kṛishṇa-Yajurvêda*, it need not be said that they existed during the Vedic period, and that they are not the later contrivances of Sûtra writers. It is therefore necessary that we should understand them as clearly as possible. The Lâṭyâyana-Sûtra continues in iv. 8, 8-20 :—

उत्सर्जनानि मासि मासि। यथाऽन्त एवमावृत्तानामादिः। पूर्वेष्वभिप्लवेषु षष्ठमहरुक्थ्यं कृत्वाऽग्निष्टोममुत्तमे। तद्वैकात्रिकस्तोमम्। सवनविधं पशुं कुर्वन्नुत्तममभिप्लवपंचाहं कृत्वा षष्ठस्थाने सवनविधः। पशुः। प्रथमं चाभिप्लवं पंचाहं कृत्वा मासांते सवनविधः पशुः। सर्वानूनानेके प्रथममभिप्लवपंचाहं कुर्युः। अहनी वा समस्येयुरभिप्लवपृष्ठ्ययोः सन्निपातके। अभिप्लवयोरुत्तमे। तथा सत्येकादश्यां पूर्वपक्षस्य दीक्षित्वा त्रयोदशदीक्षाः कुर्वीरन्। सप्तदश वा। व्यत्यासं वा पूर्णोनानूनपूर्णानावृत्तान् शालंकायनिनः।

"Omissions (*of days*) month after month.[29] Just as the last day (*in each month in the first half of the year*) is omitted, so the first day (*in each month*) in the repeated part of the year [*i.e.*, the second part] is omitted. Having treated as *Ukthya* days the sixth day in each of the three *Abhiplava* periods of six days, they observe the sixth day of the last *Abhiplava*, [*i. e.*, the fourth *Abhiplava*] as an Agnishṭoma day.[30]

"On the sixth day of the fourth *Abhiplava* period of each month, they have to recite a set of Sâma-verses called *Ekatrika*.[31] In view of immolating a sacrificial animal, they make the last (*i.e., the fourth*) *Abhiplava* consist of only five days, and immolate a sacrificial animal on the sixth day. Having made the first *Abhiplava* consist of only five days, they immolate a sacrificial animal at the close of the month. Some teachers make all the months deficient by one day: they make the first *Abhiplava* of each month consist of only five days.[32] At the junction of *Abhiplava* and *Pṛishṭya* days,[33] they reckon the last day of the (*fourth*) *Abhiplava* period and the first day of the *Pṛishṭhya* as one day [*i.e.*, they treat the two as a single day]. In the last month [*i.e.*, the twelfth month], they make the last day of the last but one *Abhiplava* the first day of the last

[25] See Calendar, Forms I and II.

[26] *Ibid*, Form III.

[27] That is, nine days before the central day and nine days after it.

[28] See Calendar, Form IV.

[29] This is what is called *utsargiṇâṁ ayanaṁ*, which is described in the *Krishṇa-Yajurvêda*, *VII*. 5, 6.

[30] It should be noted here that according to this school a month is made to consist of four *Abhiplavas* of six days each and a *Pṛishṭhya* of six days closing the month. According to the commentary of Agnisvâmin on this Sûtra, it is the *Ukthya* days that are omitted. Accordingly, three days are omitted in each month, thus making it consist of 27 days. See Calendar, Form V. below.

[31] Agnisvâmin quotes a passage on the authority of which the day with the Ekatrikastôma is omitted. Hence, according to this school, the month seems to consist of only 29 days. See Calendar, Form VI. below

[32] See Calendar, Form VII. below.

[33] Like *Abhiplava*, *Pṛishṭhya* is also a name given to a period of six days which are called: (1) Rathântara, (2) Bṛihat, (3) Vairûpa, (4) Vairâja, (5) Śâkvara, and (6) Raivata, after the names of the Sâma-verses recited on those days. In some schools, the last six days of each month are observed as *Pṛishṭhya*.

Abhiplava.[34] If so [*i.e.*, if they omit one day in each month of the year], they should undergo the vow of initiation for their sacrifice on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month, and spend thirteen days in vow (before they perform their sacrifice on the fourteenth, *i.e.*, the *Ekâshṭakâ* day of the dark half of the month). Or they have to spend seventeen days in vow.[35]

Calendar—Form I.

[Abbreviations: J = *jyôtis*; G = *gô*; A = *âyus.*]

Sâvana Year of 360 Days.

1st Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

2nd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

34 The twelfth month, when recast in the form of Gavâm-Ayana, consists of three *Abhiplavas* of six days each and a period of *Dvâdaśâha* or twelve days. In order to make this month also consist of 29 days, they make the last day of the second *Abhiplava* the first day of the third *Abhiplava.* See Calendar, Form VIII.

35 As each month of the year is made to consist of 29 days (total 348), the deficiency in the year amounts to twelve or seventeen days according as we take the Sâvana year of 360 days or a solar year of 365 days for comparison. It is clear, therefore, that the twelve or seventeen days regarded as *Dîkshâ*-days are no other than intercalary days required to make up the year in observance. Compare *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇa* iv, 4, 24; an *Atharvavêda,* iv, 11, 11; iv 15, 13; and iv, 16, 6, quoted above.

3rd M nth.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

4th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

5th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

6th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3*	4*	5*	6*
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30†

7th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25*	26*	27*	28*	29*	30

8th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

* In order to convert this year into the sidereal lunar year of 351 days, the days marked with an asterisk in the 6th and 7th months are omitted; see also Calendar, Form II.

† This is the Vishuvat or central day of the year.

N.B.—Instead of being called *Abhiplava*, the last week in each month seems to have been called by others, as *Pṛishṭhya*, the days being named Rathantara, Bṛihatî, Vairûpa, Vairâja, Śâkvara, and Raivata respectively.

9th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

10th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

11th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

12th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

Calendar—Form II.
Sidereal Lunar Year of 351 days.

1st Month.

	J.	G.	Â	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

2nd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

3rd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
„ II	4	5	6	7	8	9
„ III	10	11	12	13	14	15
„ IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
„ V	22	23	24	25	26	27

4th Month

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
„ II	4	5	6	7	8	9
„ III	10	11	12	13	14	15
„ IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
„ V	22	23	24	25	26	27

5th Month.

	J	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
„ II	4	5	6	7	8	9
„ III	10	11	12	13	14	15
„ IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
„ V	22	23	24	25	26	27

6th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	..	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

7th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III...	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

8th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III...	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV...	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

9th Month

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	A.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

10th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V.	22	23	24	25	26	27

11th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

12th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	...	...	...
,, II	4	5	6	7	8	9
,, III	10	11	12	13	14	15
,, IV	16	17	18	19	20	21
,, V	22	23	24	25	26	27

Calendar—Form III.

Synodic Lunar Year of 354 days.

1st Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

2nd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I.	...	1	2	3	4	5
,, II	6	7	8	9	10	11
,, III	12	13	14	15	16	17
,, IV	18	19	20	21	22	23
,, V	24	25	26	27	28	29

3rd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

4th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	...	1	2	3	4	5
„ II	6	7	8	9	10	11
„ III	12	13	14	15	16	17
„ IV	18	19	20	21	22	23
„ V	24	25	26	27	28	29

5th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

6th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	...	1	2	3	4	5
,, II	6	7	8	9	10	11
,, III	12	13	14	15	16	17
,, IV	18	19	20	21	22	23
,, V	24	25	26	27	28	29

7th Month.

	J	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

8th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,; V	25	26	27	28	29	...

9th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

10th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	...

11th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

12th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	...

N.B.—Instead of being called *Abhiplava*, the last period of six days in each month seems to have been observed by others as *Prishṭhya* days.

N.B.—Apparently the months 7 to 12 should run 29, 30, 29, 30, 29, 30 (not 30, 29, 30, 29, 30, 29)—J. F. Fleet.

Calendar—Form IV.

Sidereal Solar Year of 366 days with an Intercalation of 18 days.

1st Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

2nd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

3rd Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

4th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

5th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
" II	7	8	9	10	11	12
" III	13	14	15	16	17	18
" IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
" V	25	26	27	28	29	30

6th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.	J.	G.	Â.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
„ II	10	11	12	13	14	15	...	...	...
„ III	16	17	18	19	20	21	...	...	...
„ IV	22	23	24	25	26	27	...	...	...
„ V	28	29	30	31	32	33	...	...	...
„ VI	34	35	36	37	38	39*	40	41	42
„ VII	43	44	45	46	47	48	...	...	...

7th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

8th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

9th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

10th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

11th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
„ II	7	8	9	10	11	12
„ III	13	14	15	16	17	18
„ IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
„ V	25	26	27	28	29	30

12th Month.

	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
,, V	25	26	27	28	29	30

(i) The asterisk in the sixth month marks the Vishuvat or central day of the year.
(ii) Here, also, *Prishṭhya* days may have been substituted for *Abhiplava* days at the close of each month.

Calendar—Form V.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Abhiplava I	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	U.
,, II	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	U.
,, III	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	U.
,, IV	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	Agni.
Prishṭhya I	R.	B.	V.	Vr.	S.	Rai.

Note.—Similarly the other months, only *Prishṭhya*, taking the place of the first Abhiplava in the second half of the year.

Calendar—Form VI.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Abhiplava I	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
,, II	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
,, III	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
,, IV	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	Êkatrikâ.*
Prishṭhya I	R.	B.	V.	Vr.	S.	Rai.

* This day is not counted; similarly the other months.

Calendar—Form VII.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Abhiplava I	O.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
„ II	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
„ III	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
„ IV	J.	G.	Â	G.	Â.	J.
Pṛishṭhya I	R.	B.	V.	Vr.	S.	Rai.

Calendar—Form VIII.

Month 11.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Abhiplava I	J.	G.	Â	G.	Â.	J.
„ II	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
„ III	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
„ IV	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Pṛishṭhya I	R.	B.	V.	Vr.	S.	Rai.

Calendar—Form VIII.

Month 12.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Abhiplava I	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
„ II	J.	G.	A.	G.	A.	J.
„ III	J.	G.	A.	G.	A.	...
The Dvâdaśâha	R.	B.	V.	Vr.	S.	Rai.
	C1	C2	C3	C4	M.	U.

C1 to C4 = Four Chandoma days ; M = Mahâvrata ; U = Udayanîya day.

Calendar—Form IX.

The sâvana year with twenty-one intercalary days inserted between the sixth and seventh months.

6th Month.	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
Pṛishthya days	25	26	27	28	29	30

Abhijit	Six Prishthya days						Three Svarasâma days.			Central day.	Viśvajit.	Three Svarasâma days.			Six Pṛishthya days.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21

7th Month.	J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	J.
Abhiplava I	1	2	3	4	5	6
,, II	7	8	9	10	11	12
,, III	13	14	15	16	17	18
,, IV	19	20	21	22	23	24
Pṛishthya days	25	26	27	28	29	30

Names for the different kinds of years as suggested by Dr. J. F. Fleet:—

$324 = 27 \times 12$	"Sidereal lunar year of 324 days."
$351 = 27 \times 13$	"Sidereal lunar year of 351 days."
$354 = 30 \times 6 + 29 \times 6$ ...	"Synodic lunar year."
$360 = 30 \times 12$ or $27 \times 13\frac{1}{3}$.	The best possible term for this is the original one, "Sâvana year."
$366 = 27 \times 13\frac{5}{9}$	"Sidereal solar year"
$378 = 189 + 189$	"Pseudo-solstitial year of 378 days."
365	"Vague solar year."
$365\frac{1}{4}$	"Julian solar year."—This term involves an anachronism, but it is customary and explains at once what is meant.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE KANARESE PRACTICE OF TAKING SIMPLY THE NAMES OF PLACES AS SURNAMES.

WE have a copper-plate grant from Haidarâbâd in the Nizam's territory re-edited by Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VI. pp. 73-4. It is dated Śaka 534 expired, and refers itself to the reign of the Chalukya prince Pulakeśin II. Lines 14-15 speak of the grantee as follows :—

वासिष्ठगोत्राय तैत्तिरीयाय तगराधिवासिने
चतुर्व्वैद्यायोंबरखेडकुलनामेधयाय ज्येष्ठशर्मणे

Here the most interesting point is that the family name of the grantee Jyeṣṭha is given. It is Umbarakheḍa. Umbarakheḍa is unquestionably the name of a village, and this reminds us of the practice of the Kanarese Brâhmaṇas of adopting, as family names, the names of villages and towns, without the addition of any termination such as *kar* or *wâllá*, which is employed in Mahârâshṭra or Gujarât and which signifies "(originally) residing in." This is highly important, for we can now definitely say that this practice which is prevalent to this day in the Kanarese-speaking districts can be traced back to the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

Now this Umbarakheḍa, I think, is most probably Umarkheḍ in the Parbhânî district of the Nizam's territory, where an old stone and mud fort, partly ruined, still exists.[1] Tagara, where the grantee lived, and which is referred to in ancient inscriptions and the writings of foreigners, has been identified by Dr. Fleet[2] with Ter, 30 miles east of Bârsî in the Sholapur district. Both Ter and Umarkheḍ are in the Nizam's dominions, and are not more than 80 miles distant from each other.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

RAJPUTS AND MARATHAS.

I HAVE read with interest Mr. R. E. Enthoven's note *ante*, Vol. XL. p. 280, and write to endorse what he states therein. I have ere this made enquiries at many of the Marâṭhâ centres in the South of India, and I have always been impressed with the fact that **Kunbî** is an occupational term and does not represent a caste or tribe. Kunbî is, I think, the contracted form of **Kuṭumbî**, a family-man. Molesworth does not, unfortunately, derive the word Kunbî, but I have little doubt it is the shortened form of Kuṭumbî. It is possible that the word is from *kuḍi*, a hut or cottage. The analogous Tamil word is *kudi* or *kudiyânavan*, both of which are current. The former means (according to Winslow) 'a household', or 'a family', and the latter, 'a householder or cultivator, an agriculturist,' thence 'a subject,' and is synonymous with *kudiththanakâran.* The eighteen servile castes dependent on the *kudiyânavans* are called *kudimakkal*, and include the washerman, the barber, the potter, the goldsmith or silversmith, brazier, mason, blacksmith, oil-monger, carpenter, salt dealer, betel-seller, garland maker, the chank-blower, the *pûjâri*, the tailor, the fisherman, the palli (agricultural labourer) and the grave-digger. The barber is, in a special sense, termed *kudimagan.* In the Mysore State, the terms *vakkal* and *vakkalâdavar* are used in a similar manner. In some Telugu districts of this Presidency, the term *samsâri* (lit., family-man) is used in a like sense. The term *kunbî* and its Dravidian anologies may, therefore, I think, be appropriately translated into the English word 'husbandman', the word *husband* itself coming (according to Webster) from *hus*, house, and *buandi*, dwelling, and hence one inhabiting a house.

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

MADRAS,
7th November, 1911.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

POSTHUMOUS TITLES.

POSTHUMOUS honorific titles are still commonly given to deceased personages of high standing in Indian literary works and are extended occasionally even to very well-known Europeans, *e. g.*, the title of the late Queen Victoria, after death, is Malika-i-Maghfûra Anjahânî. Will some Indian scholar kindly supply other instances in the case of Europeans?

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] *Lists of Remains in the Nizam's Territory, p.* 25.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1901, July number.

SIR ABRAHAM SHIPMAN,

The First Governor of Bombay.

BY COL. J. BIDDULPH.

AMONG the shadowy figures that flit across the early pages of our Indian history, few are more shadowy and less substantial than that of Sir Abraham Shipman. The Dictionary of National Biography knows him not. His name is forgotten. Yet he was a brave soldier of some merit, whose unmarked grave is in Indian soil; of sufficient distinction to be selected as the first Commander-in-Chief of royal troops in India, and the first Governor of Bombay, though he did not live to take charge of his Governorship.

Abraham Shipman was a younger son of the family of that name, seated at Scarrington in Nottinghamshire through the whole of the 16th and 17th centuries. He was the younger brother of William Shipman who held Scarrington in the reign of Charles I, and who was one of the knights and gentlemen of the county who signed an address to the county representatives in Parliament (1st July 1642) concerning the differences that had arisen between the Parliament and the King. We may be pretty certain that the two brothers were present at the raising of the Royal Standard at Nottingham (22nd August 1642), as the family adhered to the royal cause throughout the Civil Wars. One of the family, John Shipman, was Mayor of Nottingham in 1705, and again in 1714.

We first hear of Abraham Shipman in 1636, when he was concerned, as his brother's agent, in a scheme to grow madder in Malvern Chase; for which William Shipman held a royal license. The undertaking was probably unsuccessful, as three years later, we find Abraham Shipman adopting the profession of arms.

In 1638 Charles I became involved in his quarrel with the Scotch General Assembly about the Prayer Book. In March 1639, the Covenanters under Leslie seized Edinburgh-Sterling and other royal castles by surprise. Charles marched to the Border with an English force. A negotiation took place on the banks of the Tweed, in June, when it was agreed that the castles should be restored to the King.

In the following January, Captain Abraham Shipman, with one hundred men, was despatched from London, in Captain Slingsby's ship, to reinforce the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, then held by Patrick Ruthven, Lord Ettrick, for the King. A few weeks later we find the King writing to Lord Ettrick suggesting that Shipman should leave his men at Lord Ettrick's disposal and come away, as affairs appeared to be settling down. To which Lord Ettrick replied, beseeching the King to leave Shipman with him, "for if there should be occa-"sion of service I might find the want of such as he is: for I find his judgement and behaviour "so far exceeding ordinary worth that I shall account it a great unhappiness to part with him in these times of danger." To which the King replied that Captain Shipman might remain in Edinburgh, and receive the same pay as other Captains there.

In September, the townsmen rose and blockaded the castle, forcing the garrison to surrender for want of water. Sir Patrick Drummond in a letter to Sir John Hay relates that the General, David Scrimgeour and Captain Shipman, had gone by coach to Berwick. The rest of the garrison were allowed to march out "with drums beating and colours flying, and so to Leith "(to embark) guarded by 600 Scotsmen, otherwise those of the good town would have torn them "to pieces. They all showed much resolution but marched with feeble bodies, all the garrison "so spoiled for want of drink that most of them can never be men again: Lord Ettrick is "extremely extenuated, but Shipman in very good case."

In the following year, Shipman, waiting on the King to ask for service, was knighted by mistake in the following curious manner: Thomas Smith writing to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland (August 1641), says, "Captain Shipman who went to Edinburgh last year "is also knighted by mischance: for the King being moved by some friend of his in the "Bedchamber to grant him the making of a Knight, his Majesty coming forth and his head, "as it seems, troubled with business, Shipman knelt down to kiss the King's hand; the King "drew out his sword and knighted him, whereat the poor man was not a little troubled, and his lady "is since more among her musk melons." Whatever this allusion to the melons may refer to, it shows that Shipman was married at this time.

In the following year, the war broke out between the King and Parliament, and Shipman joined the Royal Army. His name appears among the Captains in Sir Nicholas Byron's regiment, and he was, no doubt, present at Edgehill where Byron was wounded. In the same regiment was his younger brother John Shipman, as Ensign. John Shipman had served on the Irish expedition of 1640, as Ensign to Colonel Charles Essex; but, on the outbreak of the Civil War, he refused to follow his Colonel and joined his brother with the Royal Army. Essex was killed at Edgehill on the Parliamentary side.

How Shipman fared during the war does not appear; but when the war was over and the Commonwealth was busy hunting down the more prominent supporters of the royal cause, he was summoned before the Council of State, and committed to the Tower (April 1651). After a year's imprisonment he was released on bail, and we hear no more of him till the restoration of the Monarchy was regarded as certain. In April 1660 he petitioned Charles II. who was at Breda, to be granted the office of Chief Armourer of the Tower, then in possession of one Ansley, a fanatic. He stated that he had served the late King and his Majesty through the late wars, and had had great losses and hardship. This petition met with a speedy response from the King, still in Holland, in the shape of a warrant, granting to Sir Abraham for thirty-one years, the reversion of the keepership of the lighthouse at Dungeness, when the fifty years lease granted by James I. to Sir Edward Howard should expire. In the following January the grant was confirmed.

About this time Shipman married Marie, 5th daughter of Montagu, afterwards Earl of Lindsay[1] and widow of Dr. John Hewett who was executed by Cromwell in June 1658.

On the marriage of Charles II. to the Infanta of Portugal, an expedition was prepared to take over the island and harbour of Bombay which formed part of the Infanta's dowry. In March 1662 the expedition, consisting of five men-of-war, under James Ley, 3rd Earl of Marlborough, sailed with four hundred soldiers, exclusive of officers, under Sir Abraham Shipman, who was nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and reached Bombay in September. The soldiers were divided into four companies, respectively commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, who was to receive £2 per day; Colonel John Hungerford at twelve shillings a day; Captain John Shipman and Captain Charles Povey each at eight shillings a day. The Portuguese disputed the meaning of the treaty, and of the orders sent out from Lisbon, and refused to cede the island.[2] The Earl of Marlborough therefore conveyed the troops to Surat, and put them ashore at Swally, but their presence occasioned so much apprehension, that Sir George Oxenden, the East India Company's representative at Surat, persuaded Marlborough to re-embark them. Shipman and his men were therefore landed on the barren, uninhabited island of Anjediva near Carwar, pending settlement of the question about

[1] See Clarendon.

[2] See Pepy's Diary, 15th May 1663.

Bombay, while Marlborough and the men-of-war returned to England. In his attempt to leave the men at Surat, Marlborough mentioned that they were daily dying for want of refreshment, and a number of the force had perished before they landed on Anjediva.

All through the years 1663, 1664, Shipman and his men remained cooped up on this wretched spot, gradually succumbing to want of provisions, bad water, exposure, disease, and their own intemperance. Towards the end of 1663, Shipman visited Goa to negotiate the surrender of Bombay, but without success. With equal ill-success he tried to induce the East India Company's officials at Surat to take over the King's rights to Bombay. On the 6th April 1664 he died.

Just before his death he received from England a commission from the King, dated 23rd November, 1663, notifying a settlement of the dispute with Portugal, and authorizing him to take possession of Bombay. In it he is styled 'Knight of the Golden Ensign, and Gentleman of our Privy Council.' His last act, the day before he died, was to sign a formal commission constituting his Secretary, Mr. Humphry Cooke, Vice-Governor, the other Captains of Companies being already dead.

On the 14th January 1665, the Portuguese Viceroy signed a treaty with Cooke for the surrender of the Island of Bombay, shorn of the dependencies mentioned in the marriage treaty, and on the 18th February, Bombay was handed over to Mr. Cooke. A muster of the troops taken on the 3rd March showed that one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, four drummers, one surgeon, one surgeon's-mate, two gunners, one gunner's-mate, one gunsmith, and ninety-seven privates alone survived. The rest had left their bones in Anjediva.

Shipman's will, executed just before leaving England, was proved on 18th July 1665. In it he left to his two children, William and Elizabeth, the reversion of the charge of the Dungeness lighthouse. But William was apparently dead before this, as the will was proved by Elizabeth only. He had apparently taken some money with him to India, as, during his stay in Anjediva, he engaged in a trading venture. One of the first acts of Sir Gervase Lucas, who had been appointed by the King in place of Cooke, who was deposed for making an improper treaty with the Portuguese, was to force Mr. Cooke to surrender Shipman's estate that he had taken possession of, and to refund the sum of £663 which he had charged the executrix with, as commission. Nine years later (May 1674) we find Elizabeth Shipman petitioning the King, complaining that she was still kept out of the enjoyment of the lighthouse, in spite of the King's grant to her father and his assigns.

Principal Authorities.

Calendar of State Papers (Domestic); Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire; Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, 1642 (Chatto and Windus, 1874), Bruce's Annals of the East India Company; a description of the Port and Island of Bombay, 1724.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE HINDUIZATION OF THE ABORIGINES: THE SWELLING OF THE CHANDALA CASTE.

BY PROF. VANAMALI CHAKRAVARTTI, M.A., GAUHATI.

(1) The Popular erroneous view that Non-Hindus cannot become Hindus by Conversion.

The common folk in this country entertain the belief that the Hindu religion and society have always been a closed community, into which no non-Hindu might ever enter. A Hindu must be *born*, and not made by *conversion.*

(2) A less erroneous view that Non-Hindus may become Hindus, but they must form new and separate Castes.

According to a more moderate form of this view shared by many educated people, each separate *recognised caste* is a closed body, into which no outsider may enter. It is acknowledged that Hinduism was a proselytising religion in its palmy days, but this assertion is qualified by the remark that whenever a non-Hindu or non-Aryan element entered the fold of Hinduism, it invariably formed a separate caste; the old recognized castes would never admit new members. The people like the *Ahoms* of Assam, the *Kâchhâris* of Kâchhâr and the *Koches* of the various parts of Eastern Bengal and Assam are well-known instances in which the newly converted tribes have formed new castes.

(3) The true view that Non-Hindus might become Hindus by Conversion and be incorporated into the recognized Castes.

Yet the truth seems to be that Hinduism was fully a proselytising religion and that the caste was more elastic and accommodating in earlier times. It is borne out by ethnological and epigraphical, besides other kinds of evidence, that sometimes the barbarians or *Mlechchhas* were admitted into the recognized castes of the Hindu religion and society. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has brought together very valuable testimony to this effect in his learned article on the "Foreign elements in the Hindu population" in a recent issue of this Journal.

Medhâtithi supports the third view.

In this short note, I shall bring forward a passage from Medhâtithi's *Manu-bhâshya* which supports this view and which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars and ethnologists. It runs thus:—

यदि कश्चित् क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान् पराजयेत चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् म्लेच्छांश्च आर्यावर्त्त इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोऽपि स्यात् यज्ञियः यतो न भूमिः स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दूष्यति।—*Manu-bhâshya*, II, 23.

"If some pious king belonging to the *Kshatriya* or some other caste should defeat the *Mlechchhas* (barbarians, aborigines) and establish a settlement of the four castes [in their territories] and accept the *Mlechchhas*, thus defeated, as *Chaṇḍâlas* [as a part of the Hindu Society] as is the case in *Âryâvarta*, then that country also becomes fit for sacrifices. For no land is impure of itself. A land becomes so only by contact."

This passage is not only important from the historical and ethnographical points of view, but it is also remarkable for its liberal spirit, which became so rare in subsequent *Smṛiti* literature. It is curious that Herr Julius Jolly should have failed to realize the true value of this passage and consequently considered it unfit for insertion in his *Manuṭîkâsaṅgraha.* Here *Medhâtithi* explicitly states it as a matter of history, well-known in his days, that some *Mlechchhas* were actually converted to Hinduism and recognized as members of a well-known caste (*Chaṇḍâla*) in northern India.

The majority of the Chaṇḍâlas of South-Eastern Bengal were originally Non-Aryan Converts to Hinduism.

It may be mentioned in passing, that it is only on the theory of the conversion of non-Aryans into Hindus of the lower castes, that we can satisfactorily account for the great preponderance of the *Namaḥçûdra* (*Chaṇḍâla*) population in some of the south-eastern districts of Bengal (*vide* R. C. Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India,* Vol. III, Bk. IV. Ch. 9, pp. 155-157, where a similar view is taken).

THE VEDIC CALENDAR.

BY R. SHAMASHASTRY, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., MYSORE.

(*Continued from p. 71.*)

" THE school of Śâlaṅkâyanins observe full and deficient months alternately in the first half of the year, and deficient and full months alternately in the second half of the year."

These are some of the forms of the calendar kept by the Vedic poets. Of these: (1) the sidereal lunar year of 351 days, with 9 or 15 days intercalated according as it was to be adjusted to the sâvana year of 360 days or to the sidereal solar year of 366 days, (2) the synodic lunar year of 354 days, with 12 days intercalated to adjust it to the sidereal solar year, and (3) the cycle of three sâvana years each of 360 days, with 18 days intercalated in every third or fourth sâvana year for the purpose of adjusting it to the sidereal solar year of 366 days, are the principal forms which deserve our attention. The rest of the forms noticed in the Śrauta-Sûtra of Lâṭyâyana differ from each other in the rituals assigned to the days of the month.

The most important of these three principal forms is the synodic lunar year of 354 days, with the 12 intercalated days, or the Dvâdaśâha period as it is usually styled in the Vedic literature. Regarding this addition of 12 days to the lunar year the Nidâna-Sûtra VI 6, says:—

सर्ववेदसमिति· ते खल्वेते धर्मा एतस्मिन्नेव द्वादशाहे स्युरिति· गौतमोऽत्र हि संवत्सरामि वदतीति. ऊर्ध्वं द्वादशाहात् सांवत्सरिकाणीति धानंजप्यः

" As regards the gift of the entire property of the sacrificer:—These functions [*i.e.*, the gifts of the entire property] are the marked features of the period of twelve days; for Gautama says that it is here (*in the period of 12 days*) that the year is attained. And Dhânaṁjapya says that after the lapse of the twelve days the functions of the (*new*) year are begun."

This intercalary period of 12 days seems to have been inserted by some in the middle of the year and by others at its close. From the famous Atharvavêda, verse IV 15. 3 (see p. 3 above), it is clear that the period of 12 days, or the vow of 12 nights as it is styled therein, was added at the close of the year. As regards its insertion in the middle of the year, the Śrauta-Sûtra of Lâṭyâyana IV, 5. 3-5, furnishes clear proof: the passage runs as follows:—

अतिरात्रचतुर्विंश नवाहव्रतातिरात्रा वा यथास्थानं स्युः शेषो ज्योतिष्टोमेन । अत्र वा गोआयुषी पृष्ठ्याभिप्लवौ दशरात्रमित्युपाहरेत्. स संवत्सरप्रवर्हः । शंखाहतं च ।

" An *Atirâtra* day on which twenty-four Sâma verses are recited, then the period of nine days, then the day of Mahâvrata, and then the final *Atirâtra* day, are severally observed in their respective places (*in the year*); the rest of the days of the year are observed in the Jyôtishṭôma way. Or one may insert the twelve days by treating two days as the days termed *gô* and *âyus*, and by observing the period of ten days as made up of six *Pṛishṭhya* days and four of the six *Abhiplava* days.[36] This period of twelve days is what is generated by the year. Its birth is proclaimed by blowing a conch-shell."

What is meant by the above passage is this:—The first day of the twelve days is observed as an *Atirâtra* day, with the recitation of twenty-four Sâma verses, in the beginning of the year; the period of nine days is inserted in the middle of the year; the remaining two days are observed as the day of the Mahâvrata or great vow and as a final *Atirâtra* day at the close of the year. This is what is meant by observance of the twelve days in their respective places. Others seem to have been observing the same period by treating two days as *gô* and *âyus*, six days as *Pṛishṭhya* days, and the remaining four days as the first four days of the six *Abhiplava* days. The blowing of a

[36] Those who observed the twelve days in this way seem to have been adding them at the close of the year.

conch-shell seems to have been to inform the people of the arrival of the twelve days of vow, when it was obligatory for each sacrificer, and perhaps for the people also, to observe the rites of *Dîkshâ* or initiation, in order to get rid of the sins of the year.

It is true that it is not clearly stated in the above passage that the period of nine days was inserted in the middle of the year; still, from the names given to the nine days and from the commentary of Agnisvâmin on Lâṭyâyana-Srauta-Sûtra IV 6. 12, we can clearly understand that nine out of the twelve days were inserted at the middle of the year; the commentary says:—

अभिजित् त्रयस्स्वरस्सामानः विषुवान् आवृत्तास्त्रयस्स्वरसामानः विश्वजित् इत्येष नवाहः

"The day called *Abhijit*, three *Svarasâman* days, the central day, the three *Svarasâman* days, again repeated in the reverse order, and a *Viśvajit* day, constitute the period of nine days."

It should be noticed here how the central day of the year is plainly stated to form part of the nine days. It follows, therefore, that the period of nine days was inserted in the middle of the year. It must also be borne in mind that whenever a day or days is or are called *Abhijit*, *Viśvajit* or *Svarasâman*, it or they must be regarded as falling in the middle of the year.

Again, the other sûtra, in the commentary on which Agnisvâmin distinctly says that the period of nine days was inserted in the middle of the year, is one which deserves our particular attention. It is also desirable that we should consider the chapter in which this sûtra occurs together with the chapter which precedes it. In these two chapters (IV, 5, 5-6) Lâṭyâyana describes the various forms of the rites and recitations assigned to the days of Gavâm-Ayana. While describing the form of the rites to be performed on the *Svarasâman* days which form part of the period of nine days, he refers to a school of sacrificers who are said to have been observing twenty-one days instead of nine days in the middle of the year. This sûtra IV 6. 12, with Agnisvâmin's commentary on it, runs as follows:—

एकविंशत्यहकारिण उपरिष्टादभिजितः पृष्ठ्यमुपयंति प्राक्च विश्वजितः स्वरसाम्नश्चोक्थ्यान्.

योऽयं संवत्सरस्य मध्ये नवाहः पठितः अभिजित् त्रयस्स्वरसामानो दिवाकीर्त्यमहः त्रयस्स्वरसामानो विश्वजिदिति एतस्य स्थाने अपरे एकविंशत्यहं कुर्वंति. उपरिष्टादभिजितः प्राक् स्वरसामभ्यः पृष्ठ्यमुपयंति. प्राक् विश्वजितः स्वरसाम्नः कृत्वा पृष्ठ्यमुपयंति स्वरसाम्नश्चोक्थ्यान् कुर्वंति. विचारितमिदं ब्राह्मणेन.—तानाहुरुक्थ्याः कार्याऽग्निष्टोमा इत्येवमुक्त्वाह तदाहुर्वीवधमिव वा एतद्यदग्निष्टोमो विषुवान् अग्निष्टोमौ विश्वजिदभिजितौ. अथेतर उक्थ्या स्युरिति-अग्निष्टोमा एव सर्वे कार्या इति. यदग्निष्टोमं तदेवशब्देन नियमितं. एवं नियमिते सति किमुक्थ्यत्वं स्वरसाम्नां प्रत्याम्नातमेव अथ विकल्पः इति. उच्यते न प्रत्याम्नायते न च विकल्प्यते? ये एकविंशत्यहकारिणः ते उक्थ्यान् कुर्वंति ये नवाहकारिणः ते अग्निष्टोमानेव, एवं च कृत्वा निदानकारोऽप्याह—अथैते स्वरसामानः तानग्निष्टोमान्नवाहकारिणः कुर्युः उक्थ्यानेकविंशत्यहकारिणः योऽन्यथा कुर्यादकुशलः पुरुष इति विद्यादिति.

"Instead of the period of nine days, which is spoken of as a period inserted in the middle of the year and which is composed of one day called *Abhijit*, three *Svarasâman* days, one day termed *Divâkîrtya* [*i.e.*, the central day], again three *Svarasâman* days, and one *Viśvajit* day, other insert twenty-one days: after the *Abhijit* day and before the three *Svarasâman* days, they insert six days known as *Pṛishṭhya* days; again after having observed the three *Svarasâman* days (*after the central day*) they insert six *Pṛishṭhya* days before the *Viśvajit* day. Also they treat the *Svarasâman* days in the Ukthya way. This matter is found discussed in the *Brâhmaṇa*:—They debate as to whether the *Svarasâman* days are to be treated in the Ukthya way or in the Agnishṭôma[37] way. After saying that, the *Brâhmaṇa* goes on to state:—They say that the fulcrum-like support of the year is the central day which is treated in the Agnishṭôma way, and the two days called *Abhijit* and *Viśvajit* which are also treated in the Agnishṭoma way. The other days are

[37] Agnishṭoma and Ukthya are two forms of sacrifice: the former is a simple one-day sacrifice in which a he-goat, sacred to Agni, is immolated and twelve hymnal verses are chanted; the latter requires the immolation of a second victim; a he-goat to Indra and Agni, and the chanting of fifteen verses.

observed in the Ukthya way. Others say that *all* the days should be treated *only* in the Agnishṭôma way.—By the word 'only' used in the statement, it is the Agnishṭôma way that is ruled in preference to the Ukthya way. The rule being thus stated, there still arises the doubt as to whether the *Svarasâman* days are to be observed only in the Agnishṭôma way or in either of the two ways, the Agnishṭôma and the Ukthya ways. It is not, however, a rule that the *Svarasâman* days are to be observed only in the Agnishṭôma way; nor is it an alternative that they may be observed either in the Agnishṭôma way or in the Ukthya way. But it is a matter differing according to different schools: those who intercalate twenty-one days observe them in the Ukthya way, while those who insert nine days treat them only in the Agnishṭôma way. The author of the Nidâna-Sûtra also says (V. 7):—"Then the *Svarasâman* days; those who insert nine days treat them in the Agnishṭôma way; while those who intercalate twenty-one days observe them in the Ukthya way.[38] Whoever treats them otherwise is to be regarded as a man devoid of knowledge."

The essential points that we have to consider, setting aside the other details discussed in the above passage, are the intercalation of nine days and that of twenty-one days in the middle of the year. The period of nine days has already been shown to be a period which forms part of twelve days inserted either in the middle of the year or at its close. But we are not expressly told of the particular form of the year which with the addition of 12 or 21 days would, as stated by Dhânaṁjapya (see under Nidâna-Sûtra VI. 6), results in a Saṁvatsara or true or almost true year. Still from the consideration of the data contained in the sûtras themselves, it is easy to determine them. We know that the purpose of intercalation is to adjust any two kinds of years so that the seasonal and other characteristics are as well defined in the one as in the other. We also know that, of the various kinds of years, those which were the first to be recognised were such as consist of twelve or thirteen months, each of which is well marked by the recurrence of certain celestial phenomena. The sidereal lunar month of 27 days, for example, seems to have been adopted because it is marked (though not quite exactly) by the moon's completion of a round through the heavens. Likewise, the synodic lunar month of 29½ days is marked by the occurrence of full or new moon. It is the consideration of the recurrence of seasonal characteristics that led the ancients to assign to the year twelve or thirteen months, during which they expected, in virtue of long experience, a complete round of all the seasons. But it is well known that neither the sidereal lunar year of 351 days, nor the synodic lunar year of 354 days, nor even the sâvana year of 360 days, is in exact agreement with the round of the seasons. Hence it is that the ancients seem to have been led to discover the sidereal and the solar years, in the course of which the seasons fairly will complete a round, and that they began to adjust the years of their first selection with the sidereal solar year. Now, we may confine ourselves to four of the five and know that there are four kinds of years mentioned in the Nidâna-Sûtra:[39] the sidereal lunar year of 351 days; the synodic lunar year of 354 days; the sâvana year of 360 days; and the sidereal solar year of 366 days. Of these, it cannot be the year of 351 days to which the Vedic poets added 12 intercalary days; for, with the addition of 12 days, it amounts to only 363 days, which is less than a true year, while with the addition of 21 days it gives 372 days which is more than a true year. It is true that the so-called Gavâm-Ayana year described in all the Srauta-Sûtras consists of 360 or 361 days, in the middle of which were put nine days bearing the same names with the nine days which formed part of the Dvâdaśâha or period of twelve days. Hence we might be led to think that that year in which twelve days were intercalated might be a vague year of 348 days, which, with the addition of 12 days, would make a year of 360 days termed Gavâm-Ayana. But no year of 348 days is mentioned in any of the Srauta-Sûtras. And as regards the school of Vedic poets who, according to Lâṭyâyana IV, 8. 15, adopted a month of

[38] See Calendar Form IX., p. 71 above. [39] There is also a fifth, of 324 days; see p. 50 above.—Dr. Fleet.

29 days and a year of 348 days, we are told by Lâtyâyana himself that they were observing 17 *Dîkshâ*-days or days of initiation, before they commenced their sacrifice on the New Year's Day. Also, the so-called Gavâm-Ayana year is not, as I have pointed out in chapter III of my *Vedic Era*, a true year, but an imaginary year, made up of all those twenty-first days in a cycle of four sâvana years which had been so far counted as often as they occurred. Hence it cannot be the sâvana year in the middle of which nine of twelve days were inserted. It follows, therefore, that it is the synodic lunar year of 354 days to which the addition of 12 days must have been made, in order to adjust it with the sidereal solar year of 366 days. As regards the year to which the addition of 21 days was made, it appears to be a cycle of three sâvana years each of 360 days, followed by a year of 360 + 21 = 381 days, with the result that four sâvana years, each of 360 days, with the addition of 21 days, were rendered equal to four Julian solar years each of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. That the Vedic poets had been observing such a cycle of years with 21 intercalary days is almost expressly stated in the following passage of the Nidâna-Sûtra, X, 1 :—

पूर्वस्मिन्नेक विंशतिरात्रे सत्रमासते. उत्तरं तत्रैते सामस्य निदधति· एकविंशतिरात्रं च द्वादशाहं चैते नानात्वक्लृप्ते इति. पंचाहक्लृप्तमुत्तमं· प्रथमे विषमयुक्ताः पंचाहाः. हंत पंचाहानेव करवाणि· एवं पक्षसोऽस्समाधिरिति·

"On the day immediately before the twenty-first day, they sit at their sacrificial session. On the following day they put the last day [*i.e.*, the 21st day] in its entirety. The period of 21 days and that of 12 days are varieties (*of adjusting the years*). The last [*i.e.*, the 21st day] is based upon the period of five days; the original periods of five days are accompanied by an odd portion (*of a day*). Lo! I shall observe only five days; by my doing so the parts of the year are undisturbed."

In another place the Nidâna-Sutra, VIII, 11, says that the odd portion of a day accompanying the five days is neither more nor less than a quarter of a day. The passage in which this idea is implied runs as follows :—

ऋतुषडहे कथं रात्रिरिति· अकर्तव्येति शौचिवृक्षिः एवमुत्पन्नो हि भवति· अथाप्यनादिष्टा व्यूहेन भवति. अथापि कथमहीनाह्नो रात्रेरुपायोऽभविष्यदिति अथापि कृत्स्नतायै वै नूनमिह रात्रिः क्रियेत· कृत्स्नोऽयं षडह इति· अथाप्येष चतुर्थो भागो रात्रेः प्रत्यर्द्धितामत्यक्रानिष्यदिति· कर्तव्येति गौतमः आदिष्टा कल्पेन भवति· अथाप्येषा अहीनसंस्था यद्रात्रिः तामवसानभूतां षष्ठमहरागच्छति.

"How is the night observed as part of the sacrifice performed during the Seasonal Six days? Sauchivṛikshi says that it need not be observed, for the reason that its origin is such. Also, it is inferred rather than prescribed in the Kalpa texts. How then are the *Ahîna* days[40] to commingle with the night? Verily it is merely on account of its completion that the night has to be observed here, for the period of six days has become complete. Also it is the one-fourth part of the night that has grown (*into a whole day*). Gautama says that it is to be observed and that it is prescribed in the Kalpa texts. The night forms part of the sacrificial days which constitute the Ahîna period; the sixth day arrives at the close of the night."

From these passages it is clear that the Vedic poets were quite aware the fact of a solar year being greater than the sâvana year by five days and a quarter. This they seem to have found out by closely observing the fluctuations in the seasons, which they must have necessarily experienced so long as they had used a year of only 354 or 360 days. It is this inevitable change of the seasons in the lunar and the sâvana years that is implied in the term *Ṛitu-shaḍaha*, meaning the six days capable of keeping the seasons in their proper places in the year. It should also be noted how the sixth day of the Seasonal Six days is termed an abnormal growth of a quarter of a day in the

[40] An Ahîna sacrifice extends as far as 11 days, and sessional sacrifices from the 12th day onwards: Nidâna, ix, 6; on the 11th day the night falls: Nidâna, ix, 8.

above passage. There is also a passage in the *Kṛishṇa-Yajurvêda* in which it is clearly stated that the five days after the close of the sâvana year are such as have the power of creating the seasons. The passage, VII. 1. 10, runs as follows:—

संवत्सरो वा इदमेक आसीत्. सोऽकामयतर्तून्सृजेयेति. स एतं पंचरात्रमपश्यत्. तमाहरत्. तेनायजत. ततो वै स ऋतूनसृजत य एवं विद्वान्पंचरात्रेण यजते प्रैव जायते. त ऋतवस्सृष्टा न व्यावर्तंत त एतं पंचरात्रमपश्यन् तमाहरन् तेनायजंत ततो वै ते व्यावर्तंत. य एवं विद्वान्पंचरात्रेण यजते वि पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येणावर्तते. सार्वसेनिश्शौचेयोऽकामयत पशुमान् स्यामिति. स एतं पंचरात्रमाहरत्तेनायजत. ततो वै स सहस्रं पशून्प्रामोत् य एवं विद्वान्पंचरात्रेण यजते प्र सहस्रं पशूनाप्नोति. बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति स एतं पंचरात्रमाहरत्तेनायजत. ततो वै स वाचः प्रवदिताऽभवत् य एवं विद्वान्पंचरात्रेण यजते प्रवदितैव वाचो भवति अथो एनं वाचस्पतिरित्याहुः अनाप्तश्चतूरात्रोऽतिरिक्तष्षड्रात्रः अथवा एष संप्रति यज्ञो यत्पंचरात्रः य एवं विद्वान्पंचरात्रेण यजते संप्रत्येव यज्ञेन यजते पंचरात्रो भवति पंच वा ऋतवस्संवत्सरः ऋतुष्वेव संवत्सरे प्रतितिष्ठति.

"The year (*of 360 days*) was of yore undifferentiated; it desired that it might create the seasons; it saw the five nights, caught hold of them, and sacrificed by them; then it created the seasons: whoever with this knowledge sacrifices by the five nights becomes endowed with children. The seasons, once created, did not regularly return again; they saw the five nights, caught hold of them, and sacrificed by them; then they regularly returned: whoever with this knowledge sacrifices by the five nights gets rid of his sin, his powerful enemy [*i.e.*, the intercalary days burdened with sin]. Sauchêya, the son of Sarvasêna, desired that he might be possessed of cattle; he caught hold of the five nights and sacrificed by them; then he obtained a thousand head of cattle: whoever with this knowledge sacrifices by the five nights obtains a thousand head of cattle. Babara, the son of Prâvâhaṇi, desired that he might be possessed of eloquence; he caught hold of the five nights and sacrificed by them; then he became an orator: whoever with this knowledge sacrifices by the five nights undoubtedly becomes an orator; him they call the lord of speech. *Four nights are less*; *six nights are more;* the sacrificial period of *five nights is neither less nor more:* whoever with this knoledge sacrifices by the five nights acquires the merits of a sacrifice performed neither in less nor in greater time. Five are the nights and five are the seasons which compose a year: (*whoever observes them*) gets a firm footing in the seasons of the year."

If we read the above three passages along with Agnisvâmin's commentary on Lâṭyâyana's aphorism, IV. 6. 12, and the two verses of the Sâmavêda, II. 1. 17. 3, and VI. 2. 2. 7, together with the verses of the Atharvavêda, IV. 15. 13, and IV. 16. 6, all of which are quoted above, we can clearly understand that, when the Vedic poets recognised the failure of the synodic lunar and the sâvana years to keep pace with the course of the seasons, some of them seem to have discovered the sidereal solar year of 366 days, and regarded it as capable of agreeing with a round of the seasons. Others, with more accurate observation, seem to have been divided in their opinion, and to have taken a vague solar year of 365 days according to some, and a more true solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days according to others, as the one fairly agreeing with the course of the seasons. Those who observed the synodic lunar year of 354 days seem to have been passing 12 days in *Dîkshâ* or vow of initiation after its close and before the commencement of the sidereal solar year. Of those who followed the sâvana year of 360 days, some seem to have been adjusting it with a solar year of 365 days by adding five days to it, as exclaimed by the speaker in the Nidâna-Sûtra: "Lo! I observe only five days, thereby making the two wings of the year undisturbed." But those who were still more accurate in their observation appear to have framed a cycle of four sâvana-and-solar years, and to have adjusted the sâvana year with a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days by adding $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4 = 21$ days to every fourth savâna year. As we have already seen, this period of 21 days has been called by various names: some called these days the thrice seven milch-kine pouring their genuine milky draught for the nourishment of Sôma, the moon; others seem to have regarded them as the 21 fetters of Varuṇa, to be got rid of by the observance of the rites of

Dîkshâ and *Upasad*. There is no reason to doubt that it is these twenty-one days which, a sstated by Agnisvâmin, were inserted in the middle of the year as an alternative for the twelve days inserted by others. We may therefore take it for granted that the statement of the *Tâṇḍyamahâbrâhmaṇa*, xxv. 18. 1, that "five times fifty periods of 21 days make one thousand years of the Viśvasṛiks," is one which was based upon an actual practice, and was not a mere theoretical problem as has been held by one critic of my views.[41]

Besides the period of 1000 years, the *Tâṇḍyamahâhbrâhmaṇa* mentions three minor periods, naming the priestly astronomers who observed them. Prajâpati seems to have been the first to observe for verification three cyclic years with twenty-one intercalary days in the course of twelve solar years. The passage in which this is mentioned, xxv. 6. 1. 2, runs as follows :—

त्रयस्त्रिवृतस्संवत्सरास्त्रयः पंचदशाः त्रयस्सप्तदशास्त्रय एकविंशाः प्रजापतेर्द्वादशसंवत्सरम् । एतेन वै प्रजापतिस्सर्वस्य प्रसवमगच्छत्सर्वस्य प्रसवं गच्छंति य एतदुपयंति ।

"Three sets of nine, three sets of fifteen, three sets of seventeen, three sets of twenty-one, made up the period of twelve years for Prajâpati. With this (*observation*), Prajâpati attained the means of producing all (*the years*). Those who follow this procedure will have the means of producing all (*the years*)."

Likewise, the period of 36 years which the school of the Śâktyas are stated to have observed is thus described in the same work, xxv. 7. 1.

नव त्रिवृतस्संवत्सरा नव पंचदशा नव सप्तदशा नवैकविंशाश्शाक्त्यानां षट्त्रिंशत्संवत्सरम् ।

"Nine sets of nine, nine sets of fifteen, nine sets of seventeen, nine sets of twenty-one, made up thirty-six years for the Śâktyas :—

Likewise, a third minor period of a hundred years of the Sâdhyas is thus described in the same work, xxv. 8. 1. 2 :—

पंचविंशतिस्त्रिवृतस्संवत्सराः पंचविंशतिः पंचदशाः पंचविंशतिस्सप्तदशाः पंचविंशतिरेकविंशास्साध्यानां शतसंवत्सरम् । साध्या वै नाम देवेभ्यो देवाः पूर्व आसन्. त एतत्सत्रायणमुपायन् तेनार्ध्नुवन्. ते सगवस्सपुरुषास्सर्व एव सह स्वर्गं लोकमायन्. एवं वाव ते सह स्वर्गंलोकं यांति य एतदुपयांति.

"Twenty-five sets of nine, twenty-five sets of fifteen, twenty-five sets of seventeen, twenty-five sets of twenty-one, made up the one hundred years of the Sâdhyas. The Sâdhyas were gods earlier than other gods ; they observed this session of one hundred years ; they prospered thereby ; and they all attained the heavenly world with their cows and men. Verily do those who observe likewise reach the heavenly world.

So far as numerical riddles are concerned, there is no difference between the above three passages and the one in which the period of a thousand years of the Viśvasṛiks has been described in the *Tâṇḍyamahâbrâhmaṇa*. Hence the above three passages may be interpreted in the same way as I have explained the last passage in my *Vedic Era*. Three, nine, or twenty-five sets of nine periods of five days each or of forty-five days, which form the difference between four lunar and solar years, are equivalent to 12, 36, or 100 solar years respectively. Similarly, three, nine, or twenty-five sets of such 15 days as remain after we deduct a month from 45 days in every cycle of four luni-solar years, are equivalent to 12, 36, or 100 years respectively. Likewise, three, nine, or twenty-five sets of 17 days which form the difference between four of Jupiter's years and four solar years, are equivalent to 12, 36, or 100 years respectively.[42] Since twenty-one days form the difference between four Sâvana years and four solar years, three, nine, or twenty-five times twenty-one days are equivalent to 12, 36, or 100 solar years respectively[43].

[41] J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 478.

[42] It is practically, impossible that there can have been any Jupiter's years in Vedic times. Much better omit this, which seems quite superfluous. If there *were* any Jupiter's years then, they would be the beliacal-rising years, each of 399 days.—Dr. Fleet.

[43] These cyclic periods are also mentioned in almost all the Śrauta-Sûtras ; see, *Saṅkhâyana*, xiii. 28. 5-8.

It should be noted how the periods of 12, 36, 100, and 1000 years are connected with Prajâpati, the Sâktyas, the Sâdhyas, and the Viśvasṛiks, respectively. If the above four passages had been meant to be mere formulæ rather than traditional statements of the actual practice of Prajâpati and the three priestly schools, then there would have been no necessity to mention them. There is no reason why the author of the *Tâṇḍyamahâbrâhmaṇa* should go so far as to connect a formula, if it was a mere formula at all, with the Sâdhyas, whom he has clearly described as a school of ancient priests. It follows therefore, that the periods of 12, 36, 100, and 1000 years are years of the Vedic era, actually counted by Prajâpati and the three successive priestly schools in terms of the number of times they intercalated twenty-one days or cows.[44] It is thus clear that the Vedic poets were quite familiar with the true solar year of 365¼ days and were adjusting the sâvana year to it by adding 21 days once in every four years, and that they kept an account of the number of intercalations, calling it the Gavâm-Ayana or "Cows' Walk." If there is still any doubt as to the precise significance of the term Gavâm-Ayana, it will be removed by the evidence which I may perhaps set forth in a subsequent article on the Vedic era and chronology.

III—The Ayanas or Sattras.

The word *Ayana* literally means 'going, movement'; and when combined with such words as *gavâm*, 'of cows', and *jyôtishâm*, 'of lights', it means 'the movement of cows' and 'the movement of (*the heavenly*) lights'. We have already seen how the Vedic poets used to call the first day of their *Shaḍaha* or six-days' period by the name *jyôtis*, 'light', and the second day by the name *gô*, 'cow'. It follows, therefore, that the terms *Gavâm-Ayana* and *Jyôtishâm-Ayana* mean 'the march of days'. The question is: what days? ordinary days or special days? Almost all oriental scholars seem to regard the days as ordinary ones. And the sacrificial year of 360 or 361 days described in all the Srauta-Sûtras under the name of Gavâm-Ayana, with special chants, recitations, and rites for each day, has been accordingly taken by them to mean an ordinary year.

But there is evidence to indicate that this is not the sense in which the Vedic poets used the term. We have already seen how, in describing the four forms of Gavâm-Ayana, the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra has specified the suppression and intercalation of days as the chief feature of the *Ayanas*. We are told to suppress or omit nine days from the sâvana year of 360 days in order to form a sidereal lunar year of 351 days, which is a year of 13 months each of 27 days. We are also told of the synodic lunar year of 354 days with an impliance of 12 intercalated days, and of the cycle of 37 or 38 months with 18 intercalated days, towards their adjustment with the sidereal solar year of 366 days. We are not told, however, the precise meaning of the term Gavâm-Ayana. From the way in which the author of the sûtra has explained the four forms of Gavâm-Ayana, we may interpret it in three different ways: we may take it to mean the four ordinary years, the sidereal lunar year of 351 days, the synodic lunar year of 354 days, the sâvana year of 360 days, and the sidereal solar year of 366 days; or we may take it to mean the suppressed period of nine days, and the intercalary periods of 12, 18, and 21 days, of which the intercalary period of 21 days is, as we have already seen, mentioned in a later chapter of the same sûtra.[45] But Lâṭyâyana seems to take the term in the sense of an intercalary period: in chapters 5 to 7 of the fourth book of his Srauta-Sûtra, he proposes to discuss the varieties of Gavâm-Ayana, and describes the rites and recitations pertaining to the periods of 12 and 21 days; while in the 8th chapter of the same book, he proceeds to discuss the varieties of Jyôtishâm-Ayana, and enumerates the various kinds of years and the intercalary days necessary to adjust them. From this it is clear that of the three terms, Saṁvatsara, Jyôtishâm-Ayana, and Gavâm-Ayana, the first means an ordinary year of 351,

[44] It is probable that though based upon different units of intercalary days, these three cycles are here expressed in terms of the unit of twenty-one intercalary days, as though these cyclic years were consecutive years.

[45] See Chapter II, above.

354, or 360 days, the second the year with an intercalary period, and the third an intercalary period made up of any number of intercalary days. That the terms Saṁvatsara and Gavâm-Ayana are by no means synonymous, is also clear from what Śâṅkhâyana says about the repetition of Gavâm-Ayana. He says (xiii. 27. 5)—अभ्यासो बहुसंवत्सरे गवामयनस्य :"when the number of years is great, repetition of Gavâm-Ayana is to be observed." It is clear that, if the terms Saṁvatsara and Gavâm-Ayana had been synonymous, there would have been no necessity for such a remark. I need not point out how the sûtra would be meaningless if the two terms Saṁvatsara and Gavâm-Ayana were taken synonymously. Nor can we take the term Gavâm-Ayana in the sense of a year with an intercalary period ; for in that case the sûtra would mean that, when the number of years is great, all those years with their intercalary periods should be repeated,—a statement which is unpractical. It follows, therefore, that the term Gavâm-Ayana means an intercalary period and an intercalary period alone, no matter what may be the number of days constituting that period. For the formation of Gavâm-Ayana, two units of intercalary periods seem to have been selected; they are (1) a period of 11 or 12 days inserted at the close of every year, and (2) a period of 21 days inserted in the middle of every fourth year.[46] The sacrifices that were performed during either of the two intercalary periods are called *Sattras* or sessional sacrifices. It appears that when such sessional sacrifices were not performed,—say, for about a hundred years—a sacrificial session extending for 100 × 11 or 100 × 12 days, or 25 × 21 days, was held once for all. We shall see presently that, instead of holding the session during as many days as constituted the intercalary periods left in abeyance, they seem to have limited the number of days by substituting one day for each intercalary period. Thus a session of 100 days or of 25 days seems to have answered the purpose of 100 × 12 days or of 25 × 21 days in a hundred years. Also it appears that when one or more such single intercalary days were being celebrated, all the past intercalary days were recalled and celebrated along with the new ones, and that the whole session was termed Gavâm-Ayana. Those who had different units of intercalary days seem to have followed the same procedure, with the difference that, instead of substituting single days for their units of intercalation, they used to hold their sacrificial session for as many days as there were in all their units of intercalation. The three sacrificial sessions of the Tapaśchits, for example, consist of four, twelve, or thirty-six years corresponding to the 360 days composing a Gavâm-Ayana year. These three sessions are so arranged that twenty-four, seventy-two, or two-hundred and sixteen months form the first half of the session, and the same number of months form the second half, This is what the Nidâna-Sûtra, X. 9, says about them :—

अथैतन्महातापश्चितमित्याचक्षते. चत्वारो दैक्षास्संवत्सरा; चत्वार औपसदा; चत्वारस्सौत्याः तस्य कल्पो गवामेवायनं चतुरुपेयुः अपि वा एतस्यैव पक्षसी अभिवृद्धे स्याताम् त्रयोविंशतिरयनमासाः पूर्वे पक्षसि स्युर्द्वाविंशतिरुत्तरे अपि वैतान्येव प्रथमानि चत्वारि समस्येत् यथा त्रीणि संवत्सरे इति. अपि वा ज्योतिष्टोमायनमेव कुर्वीरन् एतेषां यन्मन्येरन् तदपि वा यथा गणसंवत्सराणां तथा कल्पं कुर्वीत. अथैतच्छ्यात्तयानां षट्त्रिंशत्संवत्सरम्. तरसपुरोडाशमन्नसंरोधात् यदंतःपुरुषः तदन्नदास्य देवतेति. ते यन्मांसमया वा श्यामाकमयावोभे अपन्ने हविष्ट्वमिति. अथैतानि महासत्राणि देवानामेव दीर्घायुवो देवा इति. मनुष्याणामपि सिद्धानि स्युरित्यपरम्. बहवस्सन्निविश्य सुनुयुः पुत्राः पौत्राः प्रपौत्रा इति. तानि खल्वतिरात्राणि अविषुवत्कानि ऊर्ध्वायनानीमानि भवंति. तत्र यदतिरात्रं वा विषुवंतं वाऽकरिष्यत् लुब्धो रोहोऽभविष्यत्. अथापि न कल्पेनादेशो विज्ञायते नु ब्राह्मणेन, अथाप्येव पुराणं वेदयंते अथाप्येकविंशोऽततस्स्तोमानां भवतीति.

"This is what they call the major session of the Tapaśchits. Four years are spent in performing the initiatory rites; four years in Upasads; and four in pressing the Sôma plant. Its arrangement is thus :—They may repeat the Gavâm-Ayana four times (*for each of the three sets of four years making twelve years*) ; or else the two wings or parts of the original Gavâm-Ayana may be so lengthened that twenty-three *Ayana* months fall in the first wing or part of the session and twenty-two months in the second part.[47]"

(*To be continued.*)

[46] See Nidâna-Sûtra, x, 1, quoted above.

[47] These forty-five months, together with the sixth, the seventh, and the last (*i. e.*, twelfth) month of the original Gavâm-Ayana year inserted in all such cases, amount to forty-eight months or four Gavâm-Ayana years.—Gargyanarayana's Commentary on *Âśvalâyana*, xii. 5, 14.

MANGLANA STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYATRASIMHA; (VIKRAMA-)SAMVAT 1272.

BY PANDIT RAMA KARNA, JODHPUR.

THE stone bearing this inscription was originally found near a step-well situated outside the village of Manglâṇâ, 19 miles west of Mâroṭh, the principal town of the district of the same name, in the Jodhpur State. Thence it was brought to the Historical Department of the State, and was, with the kind permission of tho late Mahârâjâ Sâhib of Jodhpur, sent to the Ajmer Museum, where it is at present.

The inscription is incised on a marble stone, and covers a space of 2′ 3″ high by 1′ 3¾″ broad, containing 15 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{16}$″. The **characters** are of the northern class of alphabets. The **language** is Sanskṛit which is grammatically inaccurate, and terms of local dialect have also been used in some places, *e. g.*, *daumâra* (l. 5.), *koraḍa* (l. 7). Its **text** is a mixture of both prose and poetry. The first line contains a verse, and then comes in a prose portion, which continues till the 9th line. In line 10, one-half of an old verse is quoted. Line 11 contains a verse from the *Pañchatantra*, while there are two newly composed *Âryâ* verses in 12th and 13th lines. These verses are in Prâkṛit language which is also grammatically incorrect. Rules of metre have also been violated. Then again the prose portion comes in till the 14th line. The last line, or line 15, contains a verse from the well-known *Mangalâshṭaka*, sung at the time of marriage, etc. With respect to **Orthography**, the following may be noted. The sign for *v* has been used throughout for those of both *v* and *b*. In some places *s* has been used for *ś*, *sh* for *kh*, and *n* for *ṇ*. Attention may also be drawn to the old and rare forms of the two vowels *i* and *e* and the consonant *th*. Consonants following *r* have in some places been doubled while in others they have not been so done, *e. g.*, °*vorvvastha* (l. 1), *Durjjodhana—pûrvva* (l. 5), but not in *maryâdâ* (l. 7), *karsha* (l. 8), &c.

The inscription records the fact of a step-well having been constructed and certain cesses levied in connection therewith by **Jayatrasiṁha** (corrupted form of Jaitrasiṁha) of the **Dâdhîcha**, *i. e.*, Dahiyâ, family, during the reign of **Vallaṇadeva**, lord of **Raṇthambhor**, when—**Shamsu-d-Dîn Altamsh** of the Slave dynasty was ruling over Delhi from A.D. 1211 to 1236.

The inscription opens with a verse expressing obeisance to the god Nṛisiṁha (l. 1). Then is mentioned a goddess named Śrî-Kevâya-mâtâ. There is a temple dedicated to this goddess and situated on a hill adjacent to the village named Kiṇsariyâ in the Parbatsar district. In the city of Joginî, now known as Delhi, there ruled an emperor named Samasadâṇa (Shamsu-d-Dîn) of the Gora (Ghûr) family, lord of Garjana (Gazni) and bearing the title of Hamîra. At that time Vallaṇadeva held sway over the fort of Raṇastambhapura (Raṇthambhor) (ll. 2-3). Under him there lived in Mangalâṇaka, the great Râjpût (*mahâ-râjaputra*) Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Śrî-Jayatrasiṁhadeva of the Dadhîcha (Dahiyâ) family, son of Padamasîhadeva and grandson of Kaduvarâja. He caused a step-well to be built in the *Daumâra-bhûmi* and to the east of a locality called Hari-Durjjodhana. *Daumâra* is a term of the local dialect. In Mârwâṛî, scarcity of water is called *dumâra*, so the term Daumâra-bhûmi undoubtedly refers to the country of Mârwâṛ or the land of water-scarcity. Hari-Durjjodhana is at present called Hariyâjûṇa *alias* Swâipurâ—a village nearly four miles from Manglâṇâ. The words *svayam-eva* used in the text are indicative of the fact that no monetary aid was availed of, *i. e.*, no subscription was called in, for the purpose of constructing the said step-well (ll. 4-6). He levied the following cesses, *dharmârtha* (*i. e.*, for the sake of charity) on each plough used and oil-mill worked within the limits of village Manglâṇâ :—

1 *seî* of *koraḍa* corn on each plough and
1 *karsha* of oil on each oil-mill.

Seî and *karsha* are measures of weight equivalent to nearly 15 seers and 1 tolâ, respectively. The term *koraḍa* is again borrowed from the local dialect. In Mârwâṛ *mûnga* (Phaseolus mungo),

môtha (Phaseolus aconitifolius), *chanâ* (gram or Cicer arietinum), and *gavâra* (Cyanopsis psoralioides) are called *korada.* The object in levying these cesses appears to be to provide food in charity (*sadâvrata*) to the hungry passers-by and light to the wayfarers (ll. 6-7). With a view to its continuity in future, the management of these cesses was placed in the hands of the *pañcha* or trustees of the village. Their names are :—**Jajaya, Loharâ, Âlhaṇa, Bhopatiyâ, Devadhara, etc.** These were most probably the headmen of the village at that time (l. 8). Then follow the imprecatory and benedictory words, which are followed by the date : Sunday, Aśvinî-nakshatra, the 11th of the dark half of the month of Jyeshṭha of the V. S. 1272 (= A. D. 1215) (l. 10). In line 13 we are told that the step-well was constructed by the *sûtradhâra* (mason) Âsala, and the stones were worked and shaped by the mason Jâhaḍa. The *praśastî* was composed by Kâyastha Sûhaḍa of the Naigama lineage (l. 14). The inscription closes with an invocation to the rivers Gangâ, etc., for our good.

We thus see that at the time when this inscription was incised on stone, Shamsu-d-Dîn was ruling over Delhi from A.D. 1211 to 1236 as has been noted *supra.* He was brother-in-law to Ârâm Shâh. Ârâm Shâh had hardly ruled over Delhi for one year when Shamsu-d-Dîn usurped the throne. It is stated that Shamsu-d-Dîn was bought by Quṭbu-d-Dîn for a thousand of rupees. In this inscription Delhi is called by the name of Joginî or Yoginîpura. The same name is met with in *Ḍingala-bhâshâ* (or unpolished language) poetry. In the *Hammîra-mahâkâvya* of Nayachandra-sûri, the same name *viz.*, Yoginîpura is found used for Delhi, *e. g.*, in the verse :—

परमप्रीतिगौराणां पौराणामपि भाषितम् ।
उपेक्ष्य गर्वाद्दुर्वांशो ययिवान् योगिनीपुरम् ।। ४ । १०१ ॥

In Mârwâṛ, *j* is often used for *y*, *e. g.*, *jogî* for *yogî.*

The name of the ruler of Raṇthambhor is given as Vallaṇadeva, but no mention is made of the race to which he belonged. We know from other sources that the descendants of the famous Châhamâna Pṛithvîrâja were holding sway over Raṇthambhor during that period. So the said Vallaṇadeva must have belonged to the Châhamâna race. The genealogy of the rulers of Raṇthambhor is described in the *Hammîra-mahâkâvya* referred to above. The name of Pṛithvîrâja's son Govindarâja is first given and then the name of the latter's son Bâllaṇadeva[1] is mentioned. This is evident from the following verse occurring in that work :—

गोविन्दे दिविषद्वृन्दे संचारयति चातुरीम् ।
तानवं शात्रवं निन्ये श्रीमद्बाल्हणभूपतिः ॥ ४ । ३२ ॥.

The time when Bâllaṇa of the *Hammîra-mahâkâvya* flourished exactly coincides with that of the Vallaṇadeva of our inscription. No doubt can, therefore, be reasonably entertained as to **Vallaṇadeva** of our inscription being **a Châhamâna and a grandson of the celebrated Pṛithvirâja.**

We also learn from this inscription that the dominions of Vallaṇadeva extended from Raṇthambhor to Manglâṇâ in Mârwâṛ. Jayatrasiṁha (or Jaitrasiṁha), the hero of our inscription, was a Dadhîcha Kshatriya by caste, which is now-a-days known as Dahiyâ. Another inscription of the Dahiyâ Kshatriya has been found in the temple of Kevâya-mâtâ in Kiṇsariyâ, as already noted above, and a paper on the same has been sent by me for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica.* The Dahiyâ Kshatriyas recognise Dadhmat-devî as their family-goddess, just as the

[1] Mr. Nilakaṇṭha Janârdana Kîrtanê, in his introductory note on the *Hammîra-mahâkâvya,* published in 1879 by the Education Society's Press, writes thus :—

"After Govindarâja, Bâlhaṇa succeeded to the throne." Mark the minor difference between Bâllaṇa and Bâlhaṇa.

Dâhimâ Brâhmaṇas do, whose temple is situated near the two villages of Goṭha and Mânglod in the Nâgor district of the Jodhpur State. In this temple also an old inscription of Gupta-Saṁvat 289 (equivalent to A. D. 607) has been discovered and sent for publication by me in the same journal.

In this inscription Jayatrasiṁha is styled as *Mahâmaṇḍa'eśvara*, which epithet goes to prove that he was Châhamâna Vallaṇadeva's feudatory. The Dahivâ Kshatriyas held feudatory lands in the Parbatsar district in V. S. 1053 or thereabout. They were in flourishing condition till V. S. 1330. When thereafter, they were deprived of their land is not known. Now they hold no land and are Âḍâ or ordinary Râjpûts. They have also fallen in status on account of marrying their widows and they are consequently called *Nâtrâyatas*.

Text[2].

१ ओं ॥[3] ओं सिद्धिः[4] अविघ्नेस्वरप्रशादः [॥*] [पां] त[5] वो नरस्यंहस्या[6] नष [लां] गलकोटया[7] हिरन्यकस्य व्वोर्व्वं [स्थ] षेत्वासि [क्र]- [8]

२. (।) र्दमारुणाः[9] ॥ १ ॥ देव्या[10] श्री कयवाइप्रसादे[11] । अदेह[12] श्रीमइ[13] जोगन्यां [स] मस्तराजावली समलकृतगोरग-

३. [14]र्जनेस्वरहमीरपदस्वरताणश्री [सम] सदाणवि [जयरा] ज्ये[15] । श्रीरणस्थंभपुर कोटे[16] गढ [पति] श्री [व] लणदेव (०)-

४. विजयराज्ये । श्रीमंगलाणके दधीचवंशे महामंडलेस्व [र][17] श्रीकदुवराज [देव] पुत्र श्रीपदमः—[18]

५. सीहदेवसुतमहाराजपुत्र श्रीजयत्रस्यंह [देवे] न[19] हरि [दुर्ज्जोधन] पूर्व्वादि [ग्भागे दौ] मारभूम्यां स्व-

६. कायानिर्म्मभूपः[20] धम्मार्थे स्वयमेव वापी ([का] राप्य)[कारापि] तं[21] । यथा अस्य[22] वापी[23] समर्थे[24] मंगलाणाग्रामचतुसीना-[25]

७. मर्यादाय[26] जे[27] हल[28] वइमाना भवस्यति[29] तेषां हल[30] १ प्रति [धान्य] कोरड[31] से १ एका तथा [घा] णा[32] १ प्रति

८. तैल[33] कर्ष १ एकं[34] प्रदता[35] इत्यादावक ? प्रतिपालक[36] गोठी [कः] [37] जजया लोहरा आल्हण भोपतिया देव-

९. धरादय[38] य[39] कोपि प्रतिपालको भवंति[40] तस्य दतकीयपुन्यं[41] भवस्यति[42] भंजय [ति त[43]] स्य माता[44] गर्द्रभु[45] भुयातिः[46] इ-

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[2] From orignal stone.

[3] It is represented by a symbol.

[4] Read सिद्धिरविघ्नेश्वरप्रसादात्॥

[5] Read पांतु.

[6] Read नरसिंहस्य.

[7] Read नखलांगलकोटयः।

[8] Read हिरण्यकशिपोर्व्वक्षःक्षेत्रासृ°.

[9] Metre : Anushṭubh.

[10] Read देव्याः.

[11] Read प्रसादात्.

[12] Read अद्येह.

[13] Read श्रीमज्जो°

[14] Read °नेश्वर°.

[15] Read सुरत्राणश्रीशमसुद्दीन°

[16] Read रणस्तंभ°

[17] Read लेश्वर.

[18] Read पद्मसिंह.

[19] Read जयत्रसिंह°

[20] Read °कायनिर्म्मलीभूय.

[21] Read कारापिता.

[22] Read अस्यां.

[23] Read वाप्यां.

[24] Read धर्मार्थे.

[25] Read चतुःसीमा°

[26] Read मर्यादायां.

[27] Read ये.

[28] Read हला.

[29] Read भाविष्यान्ति.

[30] Read हलं.

[31] Read कोरडधान्यस्य.

[32] Read घाणकं.

[33] Read तैलस्य.

[34] Read एकः.

[35] Read प्रदत्तः।

[36] Read प्रतिपालका.

[37] Read गोष्ठिकाः

[38] Read °दयः॥

[39] Read यः.

[40] Read भवति.

[41] Read दत्तकीयपुण्यं.

[42] Read भविष्यति.

[43] Read भनक्ति.

[44] Read मातरं.

[45] Read गर्द्दभः

[46] Read [illegible]ति.

१०. ति स्वयमाज्ञा [॥ *] जस्य[47] यस्य जदा[48] भूमि[49] तस्य सोतिकाद्रफलं[50] सासन[51]
पद्धतिरियं संवत् १२७२ जेष्ट[52] वदि ११ रविवारे आस्वि[53]

११. निनक्षत्रे निप्पना[54] किं जातै[55] वहुभि पुत्रै[56] सोकसंतापकारकै[57]। वरमेक[58] कुलालंवो[59] यत्र विसमेते[60] कुलं । १ [। *] कु-

१२. लु[61] न यत्थ वीसवइ किंपि[62] तिणि पुत्तेण जाएण । असुहसोवसंतावकणु[63] । बीयकुलसंतावणु[64] [। *] पदमसीहः

१३. अंगज देवगुरु भतिहिं रकतै [। *] जयतसीह वरु एकु (।) किंपि तह बहु जातइ[65] । २ । सूत्रधारि[66] आसलेन वधित[67] तथा सिलावट

१४. जाहडेन घटित[68] । नैगमान्वये[69] ठ श्रीसुहडेन लिखितमिति ॥ गंगासिंधुवृस्ति[70] जमना[71] गोदावरी नर्वदा[72] कावेरी[73] सर—

१९ यो[74] महेंद्रतनया चर्मनदी[75] देविका [। *] सिप्रा वेत्रवती महास्वरघति[76] खाता[77] जा[78] गंडकी पूर्ण्णा पन्यजलै[79] समुद्रसहिता[80] फलं प्राप्नोति[81]

THE AJIVIKAS, A SECT OF BUDDHIST BHIKSHUS.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A., HUBLI.

THE Buddhist emperor Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha dedicated certain cave-dwellings to the sect of the Âjîvikas. Mr. V. A. Smith, in his *Early History of India*, p. 156, tells us that the members of this sect went about naked and were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. In his opinion the Âjîvikas had little or nothing in common with the Buddhists and were intimately connected with the Jainas. It will, therefore, be very interesting for Sanskrit scholars to know what a distinguished Digambara Jaina author, who lived at a time when Buddhism still prevailed in Southern India, has to say regarding this sect.

The Jaina work entitled *Áchârasâra*, which is in verse, and its Kannaḍa commentary which is in prose, were both composed by Vîranandi on Monday the first of the bright half of Jyêshṭha in the cyclic year Śrîmukha and Śaka 1076, as we learn from the colophon :—

Svasti śrîman-Mêghachaṁdra-traividya-dêvara-śrîpâda-prasâd-âsâdit-âtma-prabhâva-samasta-vidyâ-prabhâva-sakala-dig-vartti-śrîmad-Vîranaṁdi-siddhâṁta-chakravarttigaḷu Śaka varsha 1076 Śrîmukha-nâma saṁvatsara Jyêshṭa Śukla 1 Sômavâradaṁdu tâvu mâḍid Áchârasârakke Karṇṇâṭaka vṛittiyaṁ mâḍidaparu ।.

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47 Read यस्य.

48 Read यदा.

49 Read भूमिस्त°

50 Read °दत्त°

51 Read शासन°.

52 Read ज्येष्ठ.

53 Read अश्विनी.

54 Read निष्पन्ना ॥

55 Read जातैर्बहुभिः.

56 Read पुत्रैः

57 Read शोकसंतापकारकैः

58 Read °मेकः

59 Read °लंबी.

60 Read ।विश्राम्यति.

61 Read कुल.

62 Read किं.

63 Metre: Aryâ; but mark violation of metrical rules in the latter portion as well as of Prâkrit rules.

64 Metre: Aryâ. Here also rules of metre and Prakrit are violated.

65 When rendered in Sanskrit, both Aryâs would read as follows :—

कुलं न यत्र विश्राम्यति किं तेन पुत्रेण जातेन ।
असुखशोकसंतापकर्त्रा द्वितीयकुलसंतापकेन ॥
पद्मसिंहाङ्गजो देवगुरुभक्तिरक्तः ।
जैत्रसिंहो वर एकः किं तत्र बहुजातैः ॥

66 Read °धारास°

67 Read बंधिता ।

68 Read घटिता.

69 Read °न्वय°

70 Read सरस्वती च.

71 Read यमुना.

72 Read नर्मदा.

73 Read कावेरी.

74 Read सरयूर्म°.

75 Read चर्मण्वती.

76 Read सुरनदी.

77 Read ख्याता.

78 Read गया.

79 Read °जलैः.

80 Read सहिताः.

81 Read कुर्वन्तु नो मङ्गलम् ॥.

There are numerous references to Buddhism in the *Âchârasâra*. This clearly shows that in the Kanarese country there were numerous followers of Buddha in Saka 1076. We read :—

ब्रह्मोमापतिगोविंदशाक्येंदुतपनादिषु ।
मोहकादंबरीमत्तेषा(ष्वा)सधीर्हैवमूढता ॥

Âchârasâra III, 46.

बाह्ये विचारचारूणि सौगतादिमतान्यलं ।
क्लेशातिमोहदान्येव स्युः किंपाकवदंगिनां ॥

Âchârasâra III, 59.

The most interesting fact preserved for us by Vîranandi is that in his time there was a very influential sect of Buddhist mendicants called Âjîvakas, who subsisted on *kâṁji*, and whose intensely severe austerities called forth the admiration of their Jaina contemporaries. Though wanting, as Buddhists, in righteousness as defined in the Jaina scriptures and thus incapable of attaining *nirvâṇa* in the Jaina sense, the Âjîvakas were nevertheless considered by the author of the *Âchârasâra* so great as to be able to reach the heaven called *Sahasrâra-kalpa* in Jaina cosmography. Vîranandi says :—

परिव्राड् ब्रह्मकल्पांतं यात्युग्राचारवानपि ।
आजीवकः सहस्रारकल्पांतं दर्शनोज्झितः ॥

Âchârasâra.. XI, 127.

Commentary.

Parivrâṭ I *parivrâjakaṁ* I *Brahmakalp-âṁtaṁ* I *Brahmakalpaṁ-laraṁ* I *aty-ugrâchâra-vân api* I *beṭṭitt appa negartteyan uḷḷan âdoḍaṁ* I *Âjîvakaḥ* I *Bauddha-bhêdam appa kâṁji Bhikshu* I *Sahasrâra-kalp-âṁtaṁ* I *sahasrâra-kalpaṁ-baraṁ* I *darśan-ôjjhitaḥ* I *samyaktvam illadaṁ* I *yâti* I *pôkuṁ* II II

Translation.

An ascetic, though practising very severe austerities goes up to the heaven called Brahmakalpa. An Âjîvaka, a Bhikshu of a Buddhist sect, subsisting upon *kâṁji*, goes up to the heaven called Sahasrâra-kalpa [in Jaina cosmography].

There are two paper manuscripts of the *Âchârasâra*. One belongs to the Lakshmîsêna-Maṭha at Kolhâpur and is dated Saka 1692; and the other is the property of the Jaina community of Siroḷ in the Kolhâpur State, and was copied by a famous Jaina nun named Anantamati in Saka 1666. Both manuscripts are written in Old Kanarese characters. The form Âjîvaka occurs in both. The correct form should be Âjîvika, a believer in the non-existence of the soul, from *a-jîva*, of आस्तिक and दैष्टिक, Pâṇini IV, 460. Anantamati's manuscript reads *kâji* for *kâṁji*, *Baudda*, for *Bauddha* and *pokkuṁ* for *pôkuṁ*. The reading *kâṁji* is supported by the authority of Mâdhavachandra, who in his comments on the 545th *Gâthâ* of the *Trilôka-sâra*, says :—

नग्नांडलक्षणाश्चरका एकदंडित्रिदंडिलक्षणाः परिव्राजका ब्रह्मकल्पपर्यंतं गच्छंति । न तत उपरि । कांजिकाभोजिन आजीवा अच्युतकल्पपर्यंतं यांति । न तत उपरि ।

The *Mâghanandi-śrâvakâchâra*, which belongs to the middle of the 13th century speaks of the Buddhists as meat-eaters who defended their practice by saying that what is dropped in a plate is holy and sanctioned by the *Sûtras* :—

Pâtrê patitaṁ pavitraṁ sûtr-ôktam id eṁdu Baudd(ddh)ar aḍagaṁ tiṁbaru.

Mâgh., Chap. VI, Siroḷ MS., p. 714b.

As regards the Âjîvakas, we are told that they will be born as inferior gods in the heaven called Achyuta-kalpa.

Mâgh., Chap. II, Siroḷ MS., p. 669.

The *Mâghanandi-śrâvakâchâra* is frequently quoted by Padmaprabha-traividya, who may therefore be assigned to the end of the 13th century. In the last chapter of his *Viṁśatiprarûpaṇi*, Padmaprabha thus explains the first part of the *Gâthâ* in the *Trilôka-sâra*, referred to above :—

चरया य परि० बाजा बह्मो०त्ति अ०चुद पदो०त्ति आजीवा ।

. . . .

Âjîvâ I *ambila-kûḷan umbaru* I *Achyuta-pad-otti* I *Achyuta-kalpa-paryyaṁta* [*ṁ*] *puṭṭuvaru.*
The Âjîvâs, eaters of *kâṁji* food, will be born in the Achyuta-kalpa.

The conclusion, that we can safely draw from the passages cited above, is that the Âjîvakas were well-known to the Jaina authors of the later Châlukya and Yâdava periods as a sect of Buddhist Bhikshus who lived solely or chiefly on *kâñji*.

[All references to Âjîvakas have been culled together in my paper on this sect (*Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 403-5). The Jainas have no doubt called them to be a sect of the Buddhist Bhikshus, as Professor Pathak has conclusively shown us. But the Buddhists also appear in their turn to have shown them to be Nirgranthas, for the latter have actually been once called Âjîvakas in the *Divyâvadâna* (Cowel and Neil, p. 427). The truth of the matter is that they were neither Buddhists nor Jainas even in much later times, but formed a distinct sect; and consequently Professor Hultzsch is not correct in taking Âjîvakas mentioned in some of the South Indian Inscriptions to be Jainas (Vol. I, pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108).—D.R.B.]

BHAMAHA AND DANDI.

BY R. NARASIMHACHAR, M. A., M. R. A. S., BANGALORE.

IT may not be generally known that I was the first to give publicity to the discovery of Bhâmaha's work on Rhetoric known as *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*. In the introduction to my edition of Nâgavarma's *Kâvyâvalôkanam*, a Kannaḍa work on poetics composed by a Jaina author in the middle of the 12th century, which was published in 1903, I wrote as follows[1]:—

"We shall next proceed to consider the Sanskrit writers on poetics whom Nâgavarma took as his authorities in writing the *Kâvyâvalôkanam*. In verse 961 he supplies us with the important information that in writing his work he followed in the footsteps of Vâmana, Rudraṭa, Bhâmaha and Daṇḍî. . . . . Next to him [Bharata] in point of time comes Bhâmaha, whose priority to Daṇḍî is proved by the latter criticising his views in the first chapter of the *Kâvyâdarśa*. He is one of the greatest authorities on poetics, his views being quoted by almost all the subsequent writers of note on the subject. His work has not, however, been hitherto discovered, though Sanskrit scholars have made every effort to trace out a copy of it. In fact, Dr. Bühler believed that the work was lost, and other orientalists have also been under the same impression. In these circumstances, it will no doubt be welcome news to students of Sanskrit literature that Professor Rangacharya, M. A., of the Madras Presidency College, has had the good fortune to come upon a manuscript of this valuable and long-sought-for work. At my request he was so kind as to lend me the manuscript for a few days, and I take this opportunity to thank him heartily for his kindness and courtesy. The manuscript contains some mistakes and there are also a few gaps here and there. In the opening verse the author calls the work *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*. It is a short treatise consisting of about four hundred verses, mostly in the *Anushṭubh* metre, and is divided into six *parichchhêdas* or chapters, the subjects treated of being—kinds of composition and their peculiarities, rhetorical ornaments, faults in composition, and some points in logic and grammar, a knowledge of which is indispensable for correct composition. The only information that the work gives about the author is that he was the son of Rakrila-Gômin. According to Dr. Bühler, he was a Kâshmîrian. The work bears no date, but the author probably belongs to the early part of the 6th century."

Since the above was written, several scholars have given expression to their views about Bhâmaha and his work. Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar[2] has mentioned some points which, he thinks, "clearly establish his contention that Bhâmaha should be placed after Daṇḍin." Messrs. Kane[3] and Pathak[4] have expressed the opinion that Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar has conclusively proved that

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[1] Pp. 19-21.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1905, p. 535 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* 1908, p. 545.

[4] *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, xxiii, p. 19.

Bhâmaha is later than Daṇḍi. On the contrary, Mr. K. P. Trivedi,[5] Professor Rangacharya[6] and Pandit Anantacharya[7] hold the same view as myself with regard to the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍi. These scholars have anticipated me in mentioning several points which, I also thought, tended to prove that Bhâmaha was anterior to Daṇḍi. Without entering into any discussion of the arguments advanced for and against by the scholars in the works referred to, I shall content myself at present with giving the opinion of one of the old commentators on Daṇḍin's *Kâvyâdarśa* with regard to the question at issue. In his edition of *Kâvyâdarśa*, Professor Rangacharya has given two commentaries on the work, one anonymous and the other by an author of the name of Taruṇavâchaspati. Though the latter does not furnish any clue to his period, still there can be no doubt that his commentary is at least several hundred years old. His opinion, as embodying the tradition prevailing at his time, ought to carry considerable weight. His commentary on I. 29, II. 235 and IV. 4 of *Kâvyâdarśa* runs thus:—

(*a*) कन्याहरणसङ्ग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयादयः ।
सर्गबन्धसमा एव नैते वैशेषिका गुणाः ॥ I. 29

भामहेन ' कन्याहरणसङ्ग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता ' इति आख्यायिकाविशेषणतया उक्तम् ॥ आख्यायिकाभेद एव अत्र निराकृतः ॥ एतान्यङ्गानि गद्यप्रबन्धस्यैव असाधारणानि न, किन्तु सर्गबन्धस्यापि साधारणानि इत्याह— कन्येति ॥

(*b*) हेतुश्च सूक्ष्मलेशौ च वाचामुत्तमभूषणम् ।
कारकज्ञापकौ हेतू तौ चानेकविधौ यथा ॥ II. 235

हेतुं लक्षयिष्यन् भामहेनोक्तम्—' हेतुश्च सूक्ष्मलेशौ च नालङ्कारतया मताः '—इत्येतत् प्रतिक्षिपति—हेतुश्चेति ॥

(*c*) प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहानिर्दोषो न वेत्यसौ ।
विचारः कर्कशप्रायस्तेनालीढेन किम् फलम् ॥ IV. 4.

दशैवेत्यवधारणं न युक्तम्, भामहेनोक्तानां प्रतिज्ञाहान्यादीनामपि विद्यमानत्वात्; इति चेत्, आह—प्रतिज्ञेति ॥

We thus learn that Taruṇavâchaspati was clearly of opinion that Bhâmaha preceded Daṇḍi.

I would add here a word about the *Nyâsakâra* alluded to and criticised by Bhâmaha. Professor Pathak[8] thinks that the *Nyâsakâra* referred to by Bhâmaha is no other than Jinêndrabuddhi, the author of the *Kâśikâvivaraṇapañchikâ*, and concludes that Bhâmaha lived after Jinêndrabuddhi about the middle of the 8th century. But in the quotation that he gives from Jinêndrabuddhi's work there is no reference at all to the word *Vṛitrahantâ* to which Bhâmaha takes exception (वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः). There is enough evidence to show that there were other early *Nyâsakâras* besides Prabhâchandra, the author of the *Śâkaṭâyana-nyâsa*, and Jinêndrabuddhi. In the very Mysore inscription quoted by the Professor on page 21, we are told that Pûjyapâda wrote a *Nyâsa* on Pâṇini—पाणिनीयस्य भूयोन्यासं शब्दावतारं व्यरचयत्पूज्यपादस्वामी. This statement is borne out by Vṛttavilâsa, a Kannaḍa author of the middle of the 12th century, who says that Pûjyapâda wrote a *ṭikâ* or gloss on Pâṇini—*Pâṇinîyakke ṭikam baredam Pûjyapâda-vratîndram.* The period assigned to Pûjyapâda by Mr. Rice is the close of the 5th century. There is nothing improbable in supposing that he might be the *Nyâsakâra* referred to by Bhâmaha. Unfortunately, a copy of this Nyâsa has not yet been met with. Further, a Nyâsa is alluded to by Bâṇa in his *Harshacharita.*[9] As Bâṇa flourished in the early part of the 7th century, the *Nyâsa* referred to by him could not be Jinêndrabuddhi's, if the date assigned to the latter by Professor Pathak, namely, A. D. 700, is to be accepted. It will thus be seen that Professor Pathak's argument for placing Bhâmaha in the middle of the 8th century is not quite conclusive.

In this connection I would also say a word or two about Daṇḍin's time. Most scholars are agreed that Daṇḍi flourished in the 6th century. In commenting on

नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चातुर्वर्ण्यविभूषिता ॥
अस्ति काचित्पुरी यस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वया नृपाः ॥ III. 114,

the well-known instance of *prahêlikâ* or enigma in Daṇḍin's work, Taruṇavâchaspati explains it as meaning Kâñchî ruled over by the Pallava kings.[10] As we know from inscriptions that the

[5] Introduction to *Pratâparudra-yaśôbhûshaṇam*, p. 32 ff. [6] Introduction to *Kâvyâdarśa*, p. 6.
[7] Issues of the *Brahmavâdin*, for 1911. [8] *Jour.* Bomb. As. Soc., Vol. xxiii, p. 18 ff. [9] *Ibid.* p. 94.
[10] काञ्चीनगर्यां पल्लवा नाम क्षितिपतयः सन्तीति अर्थो विवक्षितः ।

Pallavas were the paramount rulers of Southern India up to the middle of the 8th century, there is nothing improbable or fanciful in the explanation given by Tarunavâchaspati. It may therefore be taken for granted that Daṇḍî flourished during the period of the Pallava supremacy. The next point that has to be determined is, in which Pallava king's reign did Dâṇḍî probably flourish? I venture to think that Daṇḍî has vouchsafed to us a clue to the solution of this question. In II. 279 of *Kâvyâdarśa* he mentions a Śaiva king of the name of Râjavarma who, judging from the way in which he is introduced, must have been a contemporary of the author. Among the Pallava kings of Kânchî, Narasiṁhavarma II had another name Râjasiṁhavarma.[11] He is represented as a devout Śaiva and as a builder of several Śiva temples. His period is the last quarter of the 7th century. I would identify the Râjavarma of Daṇḍî with this Pallava king, Râjasiṁhavarma. Professor Rangacharya also mentions, in relation to I. 5 of *Kâvyâdarśa*, a tradition which says that the work was composed by Daṇḍî for giving lessons in rhetoric to a royal prince at Kâñchî. This prince was probably Râjasiṁhavarma's son. If the above identification is correct, Daṇḍin's period would be the last quarter of the 7th century instead of the usually accepted 6th century.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 44.)

Mâwas: the fifteenth of a month on which the people feed the Brâhmans in honour of their ancestors. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 148.

Megh: rain, used generally by Gaddîs who distinguish steady drizzle or fine rain as *jharri* or *saggi* and light passing showers as *burak*.

Meh, mehi: the female of the *kart*, *q. v.*

Mehâra, mhenhâra: a place where buffaloes are tied up in the *jangle* sometimes applied to the grazing ground.

Mehrâî: a headman's circle: Mahlog.

Mehyâra: a shed for buffaloes. Kângra S. R., p. 44.

Mel punnâ: to make friends.

Melâ: a sort of cursing committee. Sirsâ S. R., 1879-83, p. 175.

Mep: an earthen vessel used in measuring grain on a threshing floor. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 99.

Mêr: floor of the ground floor.

Merati: a variety of sugarcane having a thick, short, soft cane, and broad leaves. Cf. *merthi*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 180.

Merthi: a variety of sugarcane having a thick, short, soft cane, and broad leaves. Cf. *merati*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 180.

Mez: a flat heavy piece of wood with which land is gone over. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 69.

Miâra, mâî: a big field roller, the *sohâga* of the plains.

Middhnâ: to trample, crush.

Minjhun: me, to me. In Kuḷu *mome*, to me; *monna*, from me.

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11 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. i, Part ii, p 330.

Minna: a ceremony at weddings, performed by the bride or bridegroom's mother; she takes a 5-wicked lamp made of flour, places it on a tray, and while her brother stands on a stool, waves it up and down his body from head to foot. Cf. *ârata*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 129.

Mînsna: to give to a Brâhman. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 122.

Missa: snout. Chamba Gazetteer, p. 138.

Misri: a large mango fruit, sweet as sugar (*misri*). Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Mithâuna: a place where clay is dug— see *golenâ*.

Mitnâ utarnâ: to give an oracle. Jubbal.

Moda: the produce of cultivation of the preceding year. Mahlog.

Moda: a shaven mendicant. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Modi: a weighman. Cf. *tolah*. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 81.

Moh: a fish (*notopterus kapirat*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Mohand: the head of a canal. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 170.

Mohîta châhi: an unirrigated land capable of being watered by a well. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 95.

Mohra: a man who pulls out the canes on the other side and passes them back. Hoshiarpur, S. R., p. 82.

Mohrû: a tree, a kind of oak: found between 5,000 and 8,000 feet above sea-level. Chamba.

Mohû: a fish, found after the rains. It runs up after the heavy floods in the rain, and grows to a large size. Very commonly found 5 lbs. in weight. It has a curious habit of rising constantly to the surface of the water, and turning over, showing its very broad silvery side. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83 p. 17.

Mok: the freight for carrying grain from one place to other by boats. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 190.

Mokh: a cattle disease. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 134.

Mol: a long pestle for pounding rice in the *okal* or wooden mortar. Kângra Gloss.

Mona: the block of the plough. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 99.

Mona: a light country plough, fairly well adapted to the light soils of the district. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 72.

Monda: the system of leaving the roots of the cane in ground where fresh alluvial deposits can be depended on, and so produce two or three and sometimes more years in succession. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 81.

Mongate: a large mital plate. Sirmûr.

Monkhar: foot and mouth disease. Cf. *morkhur*, *rora* and *châpla*. Ludhiana S R., 1878-83, p. 134.

Mor or sira: a wedding cap. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 166.

Mori: window. Sirmûr.

Mori: a stake of karîl wood. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 312.

Mori-gad: a stake-planter. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 312.

Morkhur: foot and mouth disease. Cf. *monkhar*, *rora* and *châpla*. Ludhiana S. R., 1878 83, p. 134.

Moti: the same as the *maira* land, but with a larger proportion of clay; it gives wonderful crops with good rain, but is liable to fail in dry years. It is, in fact, much the same as the *rohi* land. Cf. *rara* and *pathiali*. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Mowa: *Bassia longifolia*. Kângra S. R., p. 21.

Mrâl, marelan; a tree (*lycium europæum*). Rohtak. (Cf. *marâl*, *P. Dy.*, p. 726).

Muâl : abuse. Kângra Gloss.

Much : (1) a curved heavy piece of wood, like the *mâhi*, but used only on muddy lands. (2) a mode of culture, see *lungâ*. Kângra S. R., pp. 26 and 29.

Muchchhnâ : to obtain money from, unfairly or dishonestly, to swindle, extort money.

Muddhâ : s. m. a spindle full of spun cotton.

Mûdî : a *kola* to which there were hereditary claimants. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), pp. 32-33.

Mûdphal : a weed which infests rice-fields. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 16.

Mudhkhera : a cess—a fee of Rs. 5, paid at each daughter's wedding. Cf. *thânapatti*. Ferozepore S. R., 1889-91, p. 10.

Mudyârî : a tenant who pays a fixed share, *muda* of grain as rent, whatever portion may be agreed on. *Muda* is also applied to the money payment by a tenant when the rent is paid in cash. Churâh.

Muger : a species of bamboo. Cf. *magher* (a species of betel leaf). Kângra S. R., p. 20.

Mulwâhr : the youngest son's share in the inheritance, *i. e.*, the family house. Churâh.

Mûnd : the *panyâri* plough. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 162.

Munda : shaven. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Mûnda : the sugarcane grown a second year from the old roots. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 181.

Munde-vaṇḍ : a rule of inheritance=*pagvand*. Kângra S. R., p. 98.

Mundi : a beardless red wheat with a slightly higher stalk and a larger grain than the common kind. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 113.

Mundla : a square *kan* (*q. v.*) = 22½ square yards.

Mûndla : an awn of wheat. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 189.

Mundri : a white beardless variety of wheat. Jullundur S. R., p. 125. Cf. *kanku*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 74.

Mûngon kî kanthi : a necklace of beads. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 157.

Mungri : a fish (*clarias magur*). Cf. *mangari*. Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Munû : fem. *muni* = *Jâkat*.

Mur : adv. again.

Murda sho : a class of *mullâhs*, ash corpse. Jullundur S. R., p. 68.

Musnâ, mohnâ : to steal. Kângra Gloss.

Mûthi : a man who follows the plough in the furrows. Cf. *burri*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Muthpura : a grass. Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Nabia : the famine, 1833 (sambat 1890). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 19.

Nâbû : the Spiti name for the wild sheep; in books commonly called *burrel*. Kângra Gloss.

Nâchâr : a break or rush of water from one field to another. Kângra Gloss.

Nachor : water which escapes out of one field into a lower one. Kângra Gloss.

Nad : marsh and cultivated with rice; see *johar*.

Nadâî, nidâi : weeding. Kângra Gloss.

Nadâva : a weeder. Kângra Gloss.

Nadd : marshy land. Kângra Gloss.

Naddilu : woodcock—see *jalâkri*.

Nâg : a general name for *panyâri* and *patha*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 162.

Nagdi : the placing of an offering with a lighted lamp on it on some moonlit night while the moon is still on the wax at a place where four roads meet. Cf. *langri*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 146.

Nagpan : prickly pear. Rohtak.

Nâgphan : a tree (*Opuntia dillenii*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Nag-phani : *Cactus indicus*. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 14.

Nagta : the black-backed goose. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 14.

Nahînâ : to run. Bauria *argot*. Ex. *dânla nahâta jae:* the bullock is running.

Nahârwa : guinea-worm. Sirsa S R., 1879-83, p. 151.

Nain : a chisel. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Nakardâda : the great-great-grandfather. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878 83, p. 305.

Nakhâr : theft. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 150.

Nakkjind honâ : to be worried, distressed.

Nakorh : a vent or passage for water from a field. Kângra Gloss.

Nâl : a thinner variety of bamboo. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Nâl : a bamboo stem or pole. Kângra Gloss.

Nâl or nagalthi=lathi : *q. v.* Sirmûr *cis*-Girî.

Nâl : a species of bamboo, found in upland villages: its cylinder contains *hanslochan*. Kângra S R., p. 20.

Nâla : a sacred coloured string, which the father of the bridegroom sends to the bride's house with other things for tying her hair up. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 130.

Nâmedâr : the officer on a *kolâ* who manages the cultivation. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 33.

Nanotar : husband's sister's son. Kângra Gloss.

Nâr : a thong for the cart. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 163.

Nâra : a silver tassel on the petticoat over the right hip. Karnâl S. R., 1672-80, p. 125.

Nara : *Arundo donax*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 17.

Narel : the *manâl* pheasant : see *nîlgir*.

Nârî daûdî : lit. horned wheat; a bearded wheat having whitish ears from three to four inches long; its grain also is white, thick and soft. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 285.

Narka : an ox-whip. Karnâl S. R., p. 116.

Narmot : a good loamy soil. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 6.

Narsal : *Arundo karka*. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 14.

Nâsna : to run away. Bauria *argot*.

Nasonch : unmixed, pure (of oil or other things). Kângra Gloss.

Nat : a jewel (? a nose-ring). Karnâl S. R., p. 82.

Naun : a bath or made reservoir, a spring. Kângra Gloss.

Naundâ : the subscriptions towards the expenses of a wedding. Sirsa, S. R., 1879-83, p. 1.

Naulâî : weeding. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 171.

Nauri : jackal. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Nauria, thief; see *lohri*.

Nehâlnâ : to wait for. Kângra Gloss.

Neota : a custom by which all the branches of a family contribute towards the expenses of a marriage in any of its component households. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 135.

Nesari : the flower of the sugarcane. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 181.

Neṭal : barley tax; an unassigned grain assessment : Spitî. Kângra S. R., p. 114.

Newar (?) : a tree not bearing fruit. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Niâi : the manured land near a village-site or in the neighbourhood of outlying houses or cattle pens. Cf. *lahri*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Niâi : the spring harvest. Kângra Gloss.

Niângna : to send on duty ; used of *chaprâsis, begâris, kullis*, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Nidâî : weeding.

Nighâr : used by shepherds to describe the grassy slopes on the high Himalayas above the line of forest, or a sheep-run in such a locality : = *kowîn*, opposed to *gâhr*, *q. v.* : Kângra Gloss.

Nîjh : sight.

Nikar : adj. disdainful, unappreciative.

Nikhornâ : to separate.

Nîl : the *manâl* pheasant : see *nîlgir*.

Nîlgir : *Lit.* blue king; the *manâl* pheasant, also called *nîl* only, or *narel*. Kângra Gloss.

Nimbar : a tree (*acacia leucophloea*) syn. *raunuj* (? = *nimbar* and *reru*. *P. Dy.* p., 821. Rohtak.

Nîmchak : a well curb. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 158.

Niora : vegetables. Kângra Gloss.

Nirna : breakfast (eaten at 6 a.m.); adv. without taking food. Keonthal.

Nîtha : low. Kângra Gloss.

Nohâri : a light early breakfast. Kângra Gloss.

Nowâri : early breakfast, see under *datiâlû*.

Nukunda : a good variety of rice. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Nûlîn : a system of cultivation, in which a spring crop, usually wheat, is taken, then the ground lies fallow for nearly a year, during which it is repeatedly ploughed and rolled. Cf. *sânwîn* and *nûrîn*. Jullundur S. R., p. 118.

Nuris : the fairies, a somewhat vaguely-defined class of malevolent spirits, who attack women only; especially on moonlit nights, giving them a choking sensation in the throat and knocking them down. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 152.

Nûrîn : a system of cultivation, in which a spring crop, usually wheat, is taken, then the ground lies fallow for nearly a year, during which it is repeatedly ploughed and rolled. Cf. *sânwîn* and *nûlîn*. Jullundur S. R., p. 118.

Nyaini : a basin into which the end of the higher channel is discharged. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 171.

Nyâr : fodder. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 164.

Nyârwâla : the man who feeds the bullocks. Cf. *bâldi*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 168.

Obrâ : cow-shed : the people keep their cattle in the lower storey of their houses, and live in the upper. Chamba.

Obri : an inner room as opposed to *ovân*, *q. v.*

Od : the vertical lanthorn wheel on which hangs the *mâl*. Cf. *bâr*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 160.

Odâla : the bark of a creeper used as string to fasten on slate roofing, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Odh : land in the shade of trees in which little or nothing grows. Kângra Gloss.

Odhi : the feeding basket of a water-mill. Kângra Gloss.

Oes : the mouth or opening into a duct from a *kûl* (canal). Kângra S. R., p. 92.

Ogal : a wooden bar used to barricade the door from inside : also used *trans*-Giri.

Oghârna : to uncover, remove, a lid. Kângra Gloss.

Ogli : a store-house on the ground floor with a stone floor and walls and without any door, grain is poured into it through a hole, called *bil*, in the roof. Sirmûr.

Ograkar : a collector of debts, revenue, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Ogwâra : a small garden plot in front of a house. Kângra Gloss.

Ohî: a kind of tree. Kângra S. R, Barnes, § 286.

Okal : a long pestle : see *mol*.

Okhwâl : a paved way : see *chanât*.

Olna : to mix (as rice and *dâl*) before eating. Kângra Gloss.

Onehrna : to overturn, pour out. Kângra Gloss.

Ongala : the consideration paid to the owner of plough oxen lent on condition of payment of so much grain by the borrower out of the harvest. Kângra Gloss.

Opâhû : a tenant farmer residing in the village, but not on the land he cultivates. Cf. *adheo* and *kirsân*. Kângra S. R. Review, p. 8. and 44.

Opat: the whole of anything, often applied to the gross produce of a field. Kângra Gloss.

Opra : the tenant-farmer residing in another village. Cf. *halchâk*, *bhatri* and *dûdharchâr opâhu*. Kângra S. R. Review, p. 8. (? *oprâ*, *opâhu* Lyall p. 45).

Oprâhna : up, above. Kângra Gloss.

Oprerna: to wave over the head; at marriages, or when a man comes home after a long absence, his relations do this with pice which they give to a *kamîn*, or in the case of a sick man, with bread which they throw to dogs, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Opri: to be attributed to the influence of a malevolent deity. Cf. *japet*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 145.

Or, ur : (1) a young rice plant grown in a nursery : (2) a system of transplanting young plants. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Orâ, orî: (1) mustard : (2) see also under *orî* (2). Kângra S. R., p. 24.

Orî : (1) a nursery of rice before it is planted out : (2) a shed for sheep and goats. Kângra S. R., p. 44 : the real *orîs* are small huts with a yard in front, built by *zamindârs* for Gaddis to put up in winter for the sake of manure. An *ora* is a small place built of few stones in the Dhârs in which the young lambs or kids are kept. Kângra Gloss.

Orli: a fish trap of basket-work set in a passage in a dam. Kângra Gloss.

Orna : a drill. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Orna: a wrap. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80 p. 124.

Orra : the putting of the grain to be offered to the malignant deity by the head of the sufferer during the night and offering it next day. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 146.

Oru, auru : the receipt which the *zamindârs* used to get from a *kârdâr* for revenue.

Osra : a rota. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Osra: rotation. Karnâl, S. R., p. 114.

Oṭa : dim. of *ṭ*; a small screw or partly wall. Ambâla.

Otar : unirrigated. Kângra Gloss.

Othla : high. Kângra Gloss.

Ovân : an outer room, the door of which leads outside. Opp. to *obri*. Kângra Gloss.

Pabhan: much the same as *jabar* (moist low-lying land, very good for sugarcane and rice). The principal rice-growing land. Cf. *chagar* and *chhamb*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Pabta : a fish (*callichrous himaculatus*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Pachheli : a bracelet. Cf. *chhan*, *kângni*, and *chura*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Pachnâ : to gash. Karnâl, S. R., P. 10.

Pachotri . 5 *thimîs* per *topa* ; a cess taken from a tenant by the proprietor in some parts of Pâlam. Kângra Gloss.

Padam : a variety of cobra snake. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Pagri-bâch : a poll-tax : Hissar S. R., p. 11.

Pagvaṇḍ : a rule of inheritance, whereby all the legitimate sons of one father get equal shares without reference to the number of sons born of each wife or mother. Cf. *munde-vand.* Kângra S. R., p. 98.

Pâhal : the ceremony of initiation performed by *Bishnoîs.* Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 138.

Pahra : a responsible man at the head of a channel. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 406.

Paili : s. f., a cultivated field.

Pâind : the bottom of a field, as opposed to the *tupâlî* where the water enters. Kângra Gloss.

Painh : the grey pelican. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 15.

Paintâlîs pachwanja : rent paid in kind; the proprietor taking 45 and the tenants 55 maunds in the 100. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 60.

Pair : the threshing floor. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 172.

Pajṛi : a place made of wooden planks on which idols are placed in a row opposite to the *sinjhâsan* which is of metal : also called *pirâ* or *piṛi.*

Pakhala : strange, ignorant of the country. Kângra Gloss.

Pakka pâr : the hole in which the cylinder of the well is to be sunk, dug in stiff soil. Jullundar S. R., p. 100.

Pakkha : a waterproof screen put over carts to protect their contents from rain. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 15.

Pakru : a bird. Cf. *panchi.*

Pal : a piece of coarse cloth placed over a reed mat to refine coarse sugar. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 83.

Pal, peru : a large wicker bamboo receptacle for grain, cask-shaped.

Pâla : fodder of the *jhar.*

Pâla : the broken leaves of the *jharberi* tree, which form a very valuable fodder. Karnâl. S. R., p. 12.

Palânâ : the string round the spindle of a spinning wheel.

Paleo : a first watering. Rohtak.

Paleo : the irrigation of the land for ploughing, or sowing, or both, when there has been no rain. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 170.

Pallewâlâ : a wealthy person, a man of means.

Pâlnâ : a cradle. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 164.

Pâlsara : a man appointed by a *râjâ* to the charge of the whole administration of a *koṭhî*. Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Paltâ : a metal spatula for turning bread, Cf. *koncha* and *khurchna.* Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Palwa : a grass (*Andropogon annulatum*). Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Palwa : a fish (*callichrous egertonii*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Panapalat : periodical exchange of holdings. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, p. 86.

Panchak : an inauspicious day of a month. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 137.

Panchi : a bird ; *pakru* is also common. Kângra Gloss.

Panchotra : see *karda.*

Panchpaya : a large mango fruit, said to weigh five quarters of a *kacha ser*, equal to one pound avoirdupois. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Pand : matting of bamboo or date leaves. Kângra Gloss.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE PLANETARY ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SIPASIANS, ACCORDING TO THE DABISTAN.

THAT curious work—the *Dabîstân* or 'School of Manners'—was translated into Gujarâti and published at Bombay in 1815 under the imprimatur of Mulla Firûz, the notable Pârsî scholar of that time. In the first section (*najar*) seven copperplate figures are inserted in spaces left for them in the type. These are the regents of the Planets, among the **Sipâsîâns**, a sect of **Irânians**, the author says. As Shea and Troyer's translation [1] is not very well known, the following extract, describing these figures, may interest some readers:—J. BURGESS.

"It is stated in the *Akharistân* that the Sipâsîân tenets were, that the stars and the heavens are the shadows of the incorporeal effulgences; on this account they erected the temples of the seven planets, and had talismans formed of metal or stone, suitable to each star; all which talismans were placed in their proper abode, under a suitable aspect: they also set apart a portion of time for their worship and handed down the mode of serving them. When they performed the rites of these holy statues, they burned before them the suitable incense at the appointed season, and held their power in high veneration. Their temples were called **Paikaristan**, or 'image temples', and **Shidistân** 'the abodes of the forms of the luminous bodies.'

"It is stated in the *Akharistân*, that the image of the regent **Kaivân** (Śani) was cut out of black stone, in a human shape, with an ape-like head; his body like a man's, with a hog's tail, and a crown on his head; in the right hand a sieve; in the left a serpent. His temple was also of black stone, and his officiating ministers were negroes, Abyssinians and persons of black complexions: they wore blue garments, and on their fingers rings of iron: they offered up storax and such like perfumes, and generally dressed and offered up pungent viands; they administered myrobalans also similar gums and drugs. Villagers and husbandmen who had left abodes, nobles, doctors, anchorites, mathematicians, enchanters, soothsayers and persons of that description lived in the vicinity of this temple, where these sciences were taught, and their maintenance allowed them: they first paid adoration in the temple and afterwards waited on the king. All persons ranked among the servants of the regent Kaivân were presented to the king through the medium of the chiefs and officers of this temple, who were always selected from the greatest families in Iran. The words *Shah* and *Timsar* are appellations of honour, signifying dignity, just as *Śrî* in Hindi, and *Hazrat* in Arabic.

"The image of the regent **Hormuzd** (Bhṛihaspati) was of an earthy colour, in the shape of a man, with a vulture's [2] face; on his head a crown, on which were the faces of a cock and a dragon; in the right hand a crown or turban; in the left a crystal [bottle or] ewer. The ministers of this temple were of a terrene hue, dressed in yellow and white; they wore rings of silver and signets of cornelian; the incense consisted of laurel-berries and such like; the viands prepared by them were sweet. Learned men, judges, imâns, eminent vazîrs, distinguished men, nobles, magistrates and scribes dwelt in the street attached to this temple, where they devoted themselves to their peculiar pursuits, but principally giving themselves up to the science of theology.

"The temple of the regent **Bahrâm** [3] (Mangal) and his image were of red stone: he was represented in a human form,[4] wearing on his head a red crown: his right hand was of the same colour and hanging down; his left, yellow and raised up; in the right was a blood-stained sword, and an iron verge in the left. The ministers of this temple were dressed in red garments; his attendants were Turks with rings of copper on their hands; the fumigations made before him consisted of sandarach and such like; the viands used here were bitter. Princes, champions, soldiers, military men, and Turks dwelt in his street. Persons of this description, through the agency of the directors of the temple, were admitted to the king's presence. The bestowers of charity

[1] Three volumes, Paris, 1843. In the following extract, I have substituted, in most cases, the vernacular names of the planets for the European.—J. B.

[2] *Kerges*, a bird feeding on carcasses, and living a hundred years.

[3] Bahrâm is also called Manishram.

[4] The drawing shows a short beard and moustaches.

dwelt in the vicinity of this temple; capital punishments were here inflicted, and the prison for criminals was also in that street.

"The image of the world-enlightening solar regent was the largest of the idols; his dome was built of gold plated bricks; the interior inlaid with rubies, diamonds, cornelian and such like. The image of the Great Light [Âftâb] was formed of burnished gold, in the likeness of a man with two heads, on each of which was a precious crown set with rubies ; and in each diadem were seven *sârûn* or peaks. He was seated on a powerful steed; his face resembling that of a man, but he had a dragon's tail;[5] in the right hand a rod of gold, a collar of diamonds around his neck. The ministers of this temple were dressed in yellow robes of gold tissue, and a girdle set with rubies, diamonds, and other solar stones: the fumigations consisted of sandal-wood and such like: they generally served up acid viands. In his quarter were the families of kings and emperors, chiefs, men of might, nobles, chieftains, governors, rulers of countries, and men of science: visitors of this description were introduced to the king by the chiefs of the temple.

"The exterior of **Nâhîd's**[6] (Śukra's) temple was of white marble and the interior of crystal, the form of the idol was that of a red man, wearing a seven-peaked crown on the head: in the right hand a flask of oil, and in the left a comb: before him was burnt saffron and such like; his ministers were clad in fine white robes, and wore pearl-studded crowns, and diamond rings on their fingers. Men were not permitted to enter this temple at night. Matrons and their daughters performed the necessary offices and service, except on the night of the king's going there, as then no females approached, but men only had access to it. Here the ministering attendants served up rich viands. Ladies of the highest rank, practising austerities, worshippers of God, belonging to the place or who came from a distance, goldsmiths, painters, and musicians dwelt around this temple, through the chiefs and directors of which they were presented to the king: but the women and ladies of rank were introduced to the queen by the female directresses of the temple.

"The dome and image of the regent Tir[7] (Budha) was of blue stone; his body that of a fish, with a boar's face: the right arm black, the other white: on his head a crown : he had a tail like that of a fish; in his right hand a pen, and in the left an inkhorn. The substances burnt in this temple were gum mastic and the like. His ministers were clad in blue, wearing on their fingers rings of gold. At their feasts they served up acidulous viands. Vazîrs, philosophers, astrologers, physicians, farriers, accountants, revenue-collectors, ministers, secretaries, merchants, architects, tailors, fine writers and such like, were stationed there, and through the agency of the directors of the temple, had access to the king: the knowledge requisite for such sciences and pursuits was also communicated there.

"The temple of the regent **Mâh** (Chandramas) was of a green stone; his image that of a man seated on a white ox; on his head a diadem in the front of which were three peaks: on the hands were bracelets, and a collar round the neck. In his right hand an amulet of rubies, and in the left a branch of sweet basil: his ministers were clad in green and white, and wore rings of silver. The substances burnt before this image were gum arabic and such like drugs. His attendants served up salted viands. Spies, ambassadors, couriers, news-reporters, voyagers, and the generality of travellers and such like persons resided in his street, and were presented to the king through the directors of the temple. Besides the peculiar ministers and attendants, there were attached to each temple several royal commissioners and officers, engaged in the execution of the king's orders; and in such matters as were connected with the image of that temple. In the **Khuristar** or "refectory" of each temple, the board was spread the whole day with various kinds of viands and beverages always ready. No one was repulsed, so that whoever chose partook of them. In like manner, in the quarter adjacent to each temple, was an hospital, where the sick under the idol's protection were attended by the physician of that hospital. Thus there were also places provided for travellers, who on their arrival in the city, repaired to the quarter appropriated to the temple to which they belonged."[8]

The Sipâsîâns are represented as an early Persian sect, styled also Yazadîân, Abâdîân, Hushîân, Anushkân, Azarhôshangîân and Azarîân.

[5] The figure represents Sûrya, Pers. Âftâb, with two tails, and his foot like a claw; the horse has the usual tail.

[6] Nâhîd appears also under the name of Ferehengîram.

[7] Tir, also Temirâm, Pers. 'Utârid.

[8] Shea and Troyer's translation, Vol. i, pp. 35-41.

THE CASTES IN INDIA.

BY E. SENART OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Translated in part from the French)

BY REV. A. HEGGLIN, S. J.; BOMBAY.

[IN the following pages we give to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, the translation of part of a work on Caste which is justly entitled to particular notice. The title of the work is : *Les Castes dans L'Inde.* Emile Senart, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte, 28, 1896.

The author is a great and enthusiastic French Orientalist, well known by a series of original works on topics drawn from the Pali and the Sanskrit. His book, *Les Castes dans l'Inde* containing 22 pages of preface and 257 pages of text in 0., is divided into three chapters, each subdivided into paragraphs. The first chapter, inscribed *Le Présent*, treats the caste-system in its present features ; the second entitled *Le Passé*, shows the system in the light thrown upon it by the standard works of Sanskrit literature. These two chapters form the basis on which the author builds up his theory on the origins of the caste-system in the third chapter. For European readers, who have never been in India, they are most instructive, and, we think, even indispensable ; but Indian readers, who are either members of castes themselves, or, are at least familiar with the working of the caste-system and with the traditional views of the past regarding it, will have no difficulty in finding their way through the third chapter, without having read the preceding two.

We, therefore, confine ourselves to a translation of the third chapter which is headed *Les Origines*, and in which the chief interest of the book lies. The solution of the riddle of the caste-system as a historical institution, which Monsieur Senart sets forth in this chapter, has certainly the charm of originality, if not of an all-round satisfactory and final explanation, as far as such can be reached in so complex a problem.

With these few remarks of introduction, we now give the translation of the third chapter.—ED.]

Chapter III.—The Origins.

I.—The systems of explanation. The Traditionalists.

II.—Profession as the foundation of Caste. Mr. Nesfield and Mr. [Sir Denzil] Ibbetson.

III.—Race as the foundation of Caste. Mr. [Sir Herbert] Risley.

IV.—Caste and the Aryan constitution of the family.

V.—Genesis of the Indian Caste.

VI.—General survey, Caste and the Indian mind.

From the day when it aroused the attention of men of an inquisitive mind, the problem of the origin of the castes has often been treated and from various standpoints. Many systems have been set forth. I think, I may shorten their list without much scruple.

I leave aside from the very beginning those explanations which are too general, or too hasty, or which are not based upon close study, nor do sufficiently master the ground occupied by the problem.

Various groups may be formed amongst those attempts which are recent enough to be completely informed, it will be sufficient to fix their tendencies by examples. This will not be a matter of mere curiosity. This summary view will furnish the occasion of clearing the ground, and we shall come nearer probable solutions, even if it were only by way of successive elimination,

I.—The Systems of Explanation.

If the Hindus have mixed up the two notions and the two terms of class and caste, their erroneous views have been followed amongst us with sad docility. I mean foremost the Indianists. Representatives of the philological school as they are, they obey an almost irresistible tendency in viewing the problem under this traditional aspect. The Brahminical theory is, as it were, their proper atmosphere. The literary chronology is their invariable starting point.

Faithful to a principle which, it seems, works *a priori*, but the dangers and weakness of which in its application to India, I have already indicated, most have, in fact, admitted that the series of the literary monuments must correspond with the historical evolution and exactly reflect its phases. The *Brâhmaṇas* which, in the order of time, are more closely connected with the hymns, cannot contain anything which is not the prolongation, or normal development of the data contained in them. Hence this dilemma: Either the existence of the castes is attested in the *Vedas*, or—in the contrary supposition—they were necessarily established in the period which separates the composition of the hymns to which they would be unknown, from the composition of the *Brâhmaṇas* which suppose their existence, to which is added this corollary, always implied, yet always active, that their origins must be justified by means of elements expressly contained in the hymns.

Nobody, as far as I know, or almost nobody, has freed himself of this postulate. They thought, they were bound to consider as the certain starting point the divisions which, in the opinion of all, are exhibited in the *Vedas*, and which, according to some, were complete and real castes, according to others, social classes. The former were all the more eager to find the castes in the hymns, as they justly felt how difficult it is to ascribe to them, according to the ordinary method too recent an origin; and the latter concluded from the silence of the hymns, that the epoch, to which they go back, did not know anything of them, and that, therefore, the genesis could begin only later. But both are agreed to consider as primitive and indissoluble the tie which connects the four *varṇas* with the very rising of the institution of the castes.

Under this impression they are fain to believe to have done enough, when they have drawn a reasonable explanation from general considerations supported by approximate analogies. From the pretensions and the interests of the priestly class, aided by an alliance with the secular power seen also elsewhere, they have originated, through the working of a clearer design carried on with perseverance, this state of division into factions maintained by severe regulations as they appear through the prism of the law-books. The lines of such constructions are commonly somewhat indistinct; they may be seductive by their regularity, by the convenient appeal which they make to current notions. But so much clearness is not without danger.

Being masters of the analysis which derives the whole Indo-European vocabulary from some hundreds of roots, certain explorers of the language really thought, they were touching, in those languages which have preserved most of etymological transparency, the first stammerings of human speech. They estimated that the distance to be covered from there to the source, was not, or almost not worth considering. Among the explanations to which caste has given rise, there are some which remind one of this easy optimism. It has exerted its ravages even upon such minds as seemed to be perfectly armed against them.

Mr. Sherring, for instance, has devoted vast labours to the direct study of the contemporary castes.[1] When, one day, he thought of settling his general views on the matter, of summing up his opinion on the 'Natural History of Caste,'[2] he set down the terms of the problem with a firmness which was not such as to discourage the hopes roused by the very ltitle of his work. It is strange that a preconceived system should have been able to render so many observations and so

[1] *Tribes and Castes in Benares.*

[2] 'Natural History of Castes,' in the *Calcutta Review*.

much learning sterile. Mr. Sherring has shown us in the caste only the result of the cunning policy of ambitious priests, manufacturing all anew the constitution of the Hindu world and modelling it to their own profit.

The comparison of the Jesuits and their theocratic aims plays, as a rule, a really excessive part in these explanations. We find it even with one of the latest representatives of the philological school. Mr. von Schroeder,[3] at first, does not seem to be inclined to exaggerating the Brahminical system; he feels that the quadruple division into priests, warriors, etc., can only correspond to a distinction of classes. Nevertheless, he derives the castes from them and, above all, from the particular constitution of the Brahmins. If we were to believe him, the *regime* would be connected with the victorious reaction of Brahmanism against expiring Buddhism. Its formation, therefore, would thus be brought down to the period in which there appeared the man in whom that movement, very hypothetical as it is, personifies itself, down to Śankara, the orthodox philosopher of the eighth century.

These are the systems which I shall call traditionalistic. They repeat themselves, transform themselves without a great effort of renewal. However ingenious they may be in some of their parties, their analysis could scarcely be productive of a result. Roth,[4] for instance, has explained the first progress of the sacerdotal caste by the importance which the *purohit*, or domestic chaplain of the chieftains acquired little by little. Whilst spreading in the plains of India, the Aryan tribes would split themselves into numerous factions, they would be broken up; by this the royal families would have lost both in power and in authority; they would sink down to the rank of a simple nobility; the Kshatriyas would be the bullion of ancient kings. Their weakness would have created the empire of the Brahmins. All the views of so excellent and well-informed a mind have their value. But this is of interest only for the history of the classes, not for the genesis of the castes.

To mix up the classes with the castes is, in my opinion, to bring confusion into the whole question. I have given several reasons for it. Class and caste correspond neither in their extent, nor in their characters, nor in their innate tendencies. Each one, even amongst the castes which would be involved in the same class, is clearly distinguished from its relatives; it isolates itself with a roughness which is not softened by the feeling of a higher union. The class serves political ambitions; the caste obeys narrow scruples, traditional customs, at most certain local influences which have, as a rule, no connection with the interests of the class. Above all, the caste aims at safe-guarding an integrity, the preoccupation of which shows itself suspicious even with the lowest. It is the distant echo of the struggles of classes, which, transmitted by the legend, resounds in the tradition. The two institutions may have become linked together by the reaction of the systems upon the facts; they are, none the less, essentially independent.

The hierarchical division of the population into classes is an almost universal fact; the *regime* of the caste is a phenomenon, that is unique. That Brahminical ambition may have profited by it in order the better to establish its domination, is possible—it is not evident. Theocracy has not for its necessary basis the *regime* of castes. If theory has mixed up the two orders of ideas this is a secondary fact; we have seen it by the very criticism of the tradition. To understand the historical development, it is necessary to distinguish them carefully, reserving, of course, the inquiry how the two notions could finally have been linked together. Priestly speculation has placed an artificial system between the facts and our vision. Let us be on our guard not to take as the sight the curtain which is hiding it from us.

It may appear very simple to derive, after the Brahminical fashion, an infinite number of groups from a successive division of large primitive categories. How is it not seen, that this parcelling

[3] *Indien's Litteratur and Cultur*, pp. 152, p. 410.

[4] *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, I, p. 81 ss.

out draws its inspiration from interests and inclinations directly opposed to the class-spirit which ought rather ever to tighten the union? Ruled by varying principles of unification: geographical, professional, sectarian, etc., caste invariably shows itself insensible to considerations of a general nature. Class-spirit does not account for any one of those particularities, for any one of those scruples, which make the originality of caste, and which even between groups that, after all, would be traced back to one common class, raise up so many and so high barriers.

These systems, therefore, put the question wrongly; they start from an arbitrary principle which they do not prove, and which, on application, reveals an evident insufficiency. Nor is this all. Their excessive respect for the pretended testimonies of literature forces them to bring down the beginnings of the *regime* to too late a period, when everything indicates that the life of India was already strongly established on its final footing. A new improbability! An institution so universal in Hindu society, gifted with a vitality so supple as to appear indestructible, cannot fail to be connected with the very roots of national development. If it had sprung up late, it would, being destined to so large a sway, have left at least more definite traces of its beginnings.

One feature is common to all systems of this category, they lose sight too much of the real facts; they deprive themselves of the comparisons and ideas called forth by the life of populations which are imperfectly, or recently assimilated with dominant Hinduism.

This preoccupation, on the contrary, takes a place of honour in works which follow other directions, and which start either from sociological doctrines, or from anthropology.

II.—Profession as the Foundation of Caste.

Mr. Nesfield is led by views of general ethnography; his belief in positive classifications is of a rigidity which is surprising in a time so rid of all dogmatism. Yet he has at least a perfect outspokenness in his conclusions; if one can hesitate to follow him, at least every one knows where he is going.

The communion of profession is, in his eyes, the foundation of the caste; this is the hearth round which it has taken shape. He does not admit any other origin; he deliberately excludes all influence of race, of religion. To distinguish in India the currents of different populations, Aryan and aboriginal, is to him an illusion, pure and simple. The flood of invasion has lost itself early in the mass; union was brought about very fast; the process was already accomplished more than a thousand years before the Christian era. The constitution of the caste alone could throw into it a dissolvant by means of professional specification.

The castes, moreover, have been developed—in his view—according to an absolute order; it is the order which follows the march of human progress, in life, in agriculture, in industries; the social rank assigned to each man was precisely that which the profession to which he gave himself, possessed in this series.[5] Thus he discerns two great divisions between the trades-castes: the first corresponds to the trades which are anterior to metallurgy, it is the lowest; the second which is higher, represents the metallurgical industries, or is contemporaneous with their flourishing. He has spent a singular ingeniousness to establish on analogous grounds—within the interior of the groups to which it belongs—the superiority of each caste, as fixed, according to him, by Hindu usage. The castes thus rise one above the other accordingly as they are chiefly connected with hunting, fishing, pastoral life, landed property, handicrafts, commerce, servile employments, priestly functions. To make use of his own words: "Each caste, or group of castes represents the one or the other of these progressive stages of culture, which have marked the industrial development of mankind, not only in India, but in all countries of the world. The rank which

[5] Nesfield, *Caste System*, § 9.

each caste occupies, high or low on the ladder, depends on the industry which each one represents, according as it belongs to a period of advanced, or primitive culture. In this way, the natural history of human industries supplies the key for the hierarchy as well as for the formation of Hindu castes."[6]

Proceeding from there, Mr. Nesfield shows to us the different professions issuing from the tribe, in order to constitute themselves into partial unities, and these unities rising on the social ladder in conformity to the trades on which they live.[7] Sprung from the tribe the fragments of which it re-constructs according to a new principle, the caste has preserved persistent recollections of its origins. It has borrowed from the ancient type of the tribe the narrow rules of marriage and the severe prohibition of every contact with similar groups.

The caste, therefore, would be the outcome of the regular evolution of the social life taken at its lowest level and followed in its slow progress. I do not pretend to clear up how he can reconcile this thesis with the relatively late date to which, by the way, he refers the constitution of castes. What probability is there that, one thousand years before our era, the Hindus were still barbarians, destitute of the most humble elements of civilisation?

Still less can I understand how Mr. Nesfield manages, from this point of view, to reserve to the Brahmins so decisive a part in this genesis. In fact, he asserts that "The Brahmin was the first caste in the order of time; all the others were formed after this model, gradually extending from the king or warrior to the tribes given to hunting and fishing, the condition of which is scarcely above that of savages." The exclusiveness of all the castes takes its inspiration from the Brahmins, by the contagion of example, by the necessity of self-defence.[8] The Brahmin is the founder of the system. The Brahmin[9] has invented, to his own profit, the rule which alone perfectly constitute the castes, the rule which prohibits to marry a woman of another caste. This is a singular contradiction to what he says later, when he derives the marriage regulation from the traditional usages of the tribe.

He is, however, no dupe of the dogmatism of Brahminic books. In his eyes, "the four castes have never had in India another existence than to-day; as a tradition that makes authority." Borrowed from the Indo-Iranian past, it has scarcely any other merit but that of connecting the variety of castes with the differences of occupation. The Vaiśyas and the Śûdras, in particular, have never been anything more than some sort of rubric destined to include a mass of heterogeneous elements.[10] But evidently, and although not being able to resist the seduction which the positivist constructions exercised upon his mind, Mr. Nesfield has really felt that his theory—for want of a corrective—proved too much and would have to be applied to all countries. There is also no doubt that, notwithstanding his natural independence, he was influenced by the prestige of tradition. At any rate, the concession which he makes to it, far from being inherent in his system, disturbs its whole arrangement. The originality of his thesis lies elsewhere. If others had before him assigned one part of action, in the genesis of the castes, to professional specialisation, nobody had so deliberately reduced to it the whole evolution. He has, likewise, more than anybody else, connected its characteristic details with the reminiscences of the tribe. In taking his stand on the new ground of ethnography, he has enlarged the perspectives and prepared a wider foundation for interpretation.

Several of the views, which he has sown incidentally, could disappear without leaving a perceptible gap. The fusion of the different elements of population was, according to him, accomplished at a very early age, the perfect unity of the whole was assured from an ancient period.

[6] Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 88.
[7] Nesfield, *Caste System*, §. 177-8, pp. 180-2.
[8] Nesfield, *Caste System*, § 171-2.
[9] Nesfield, *Caste System*, § 469, 190.
[10] Nesfield, *l. c.* § 11.

His conviction, on this point, however ardent it be, might of course give rise to many objections and restrictions, but it is not at all connected indissolubly with his opinion on the professional origin of the caste. The same may be said of the etymological deductions of the legendary facts in which he pretends to lay hold on the history of many of the castes, from its very beginning, in the exact moment in which they separate in successive swarms from the original tribes. The information is here more varied, and the combination more brilliant, than the method rigorous.

Perhaps Mr. Nesfield has too much studied the caste from its outward and actual aspect. He has commenced with daily experience ; this is an advantage, it is also a danger. His theory has so much taken possession of his mind that he has been naturally carried away to present it to us in a deductive explanation, rather than to follow the demonstration, step by step. Will he convert many inquirers to a thesis which derives so peculiar a historical phenomenon from such general speculative constructions ?

In giving the first place, on one hand, to the profession, on the other, to the organization of the tribe, he has at least faithfully summed up an impression which manifests itself in most observers of contemporary life. All are struck by that entanglement of more or less extended ethnical groups, of which I have sought to give some idea, and of which it is important that neither the complication, nor the mobility, should be lost out of sight. They see them how they in numberless gradations, approach more or less the type of the caste, how they approach it the nearer the more completely the community of profession has been substituted for the bond of origin ; and, naturally, this double observation reflects upon their theoretical conclusions.

Less decisive, less minutely worked out than that of Mr. Nesfield, the thesis of Mr. D. Ibbetson[11] is based upon the same data. Being of a less systematic turn of mind and more impressed by shades variable enough to discourage general theories, he wraps himself up with reservations.

Still he sums up his views, and the stages which he discerns in the history of the caste are as follows :— (1) the organization of the tribe, which is common to all primitive societies ; (2) the guilds founded on the heredity of occupation ; (3) the exaltation peculiar to India of sacerdotal ministry ; (4) the exaltation of the levitic blood by the importance attached to heredity ; (5) the strengthening of the principle by the elaboration of a series of entirely artificial laws, drawn from Hindu beliefs, which regulate marriage and fix the limits in which it can be contracted, declare certain professions and certain foods impure and determine the conditions and the degrees of contacts allowed between the castes.

We see which place is also here taken by the profession and the constitution of the tribe. Only, this time, the part of the Brahmins has been inverted. Anxious to consolidate a power which, at first was founded on their knowledge of religion, but for which this foundation was becoming too weak, they found, according to Ibbetson, a valuable hint in the division of the people into tribes, in the theory of heredity of occupations which had sprung from it ; they made their profit by it. From it they drew this network of restrictions and of incapacities which entangle a high-caste Hindu from his birth.[12] Thus the Brahmins are represented as dependent upon the spontaneous organization of the country.

This system may appear more logical than that of Nesfield ; more still, perhaps, it proceeds from a quite gratuitous conjecture which is not supported by any attempt of proof. And what shall we say of such a conception of the most essential and most characteristic rules of the caste ? These rules which are so strict, which exercise so absolute a dominion on conscience, would be nothing but an artificial and late invention contrived with a party-spirit.

11 Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, *Report on the Census of the Punjab* (1881), Calcutta 1883, § 341, etc.

12 Ibbetson § 212.

The edifice is faulty in its very basis by the unmeasured importance which Mr. Ibbetson, on this point in accord with Mr. Nesfield, attributes to the professional community. If the caste had really in this its primitive bond, it would have shown less tendency to break up and to dislocate itself; the agent which would have unified it at the beginning, would have maintained its cohesion.

Experience, on the contrary, shows how the prejudices of caste kept at a distance people, whom, the same occupation carried on in the same places, should bring together.[13] We have seen what a variety of professions may separate members of the same caste, and this not only in the lower, but even in the best qualified classes. The giving up of the prevailing professions is by itself in no way a sufficient cause of exclusion. The occupations are graduated upon a ladder of respectability, but their degrees are fixed by notions of religious purity. All professions which do not entail pollution, or at least an increase of impurity, are open to every caste. Mr. Nesfield[14] states himself that one can meet Brahmins who practise all professions, "except those which imply a ceremonial defilement and, consequently, loss of caste." If the most despised castes split themselves into new sections which disdain the primitive stock, the reason is not, because these sections adopt a different occupation, but it is simply, because they renounce such detail of their hereditary occupations, as, according to the prejudices in vogue, bring on defilement. Such is the case for certain groups of sweepers.[15]

It is true that many castes pay some kind of worship to the instruments appertaining to their profession.[16] The fisherman sacrifices a goat to his new boat; the shepherd besmears the tails and the horns of his animals with ochre; the labourer spreads an oblation, mixed with sugar, *ghî* and rice upon his plough at the spot where it turns the first clod; the artisan consecrates his tools; the warrior pays homage to his weapons; the writer to his pen and to his inkstand. Curious as they may be, what do such usages prove? Given to various occupations, people of the same caste may render this sort of respect to the most diverse symbols.

Many castes borrow their name from their principal occupation; but it is nothing more than a general denomination; its extension does not at all necessarily answer that of the caste. Bania merchant is, like Brahmin, or Kshatriya, a term in which one may only very improperly see a caste-name. In the same province it will comprise many different sections, which, having the right neither of intermarrying, nor of eating together, form the real castes. The cultivating castes count by tens in the same district, and the Kâyasthas, or writers of Bengal, in spite of a common professional name, are in reality divided into as many castes, distinguished by geographical, or patronymic names, as there exist among them groups bound to particular usages and a special jurisdiction. It is the same everywhere.

It may be that, in certain cases, a professional local title embraces a group altogether united into one single caste. This will be the exception. The bond of profession is frail in the extreme; unity is dislocated by the action of the smallest trifle. The pivot of the caste is not there.

Sprung from the speciality of occupations, it would not be more than a guild, as the guilds of the middle ages, or those of the Roman world. Who could mix up these two institutions? The one, being limited to artisans alone, enclosed in a regular system, confined in its action to the economical functions, the necessities, or interests of which have created it; the other, penetrating the whole social condition, regulating the duties of all, intruding itself and acting everywhere and at all levels, governing private life even in its innermost machinery? That castes and ancient guilds have certain points in common, nothing could be more plain, both are corporations. Nobody denies that community of profession has contributed to unite or limit certain castes of labourers or artisans. One may certainly see sometimes individuals drawn within the orbit of a new

[13] Ibbetson, § 568. [14] Nesfield, 133; *cf.* also § 183. [15] Ibbetson, § 154.
[16] Nesfield, § 161.

caste, and new small divisions evolved under the influence of profession.[17] But how many other factors have, in a similar way, exercised the like action ?

There exist in certain Slavonic countries, in Russia and elsewhere,[18] or at least, there were existing still at a recent date—village-communities exclusively given to a single profession—villages of shoe-makers and villages of blacksmiths, or leather-dressers, communities of joiners and potters, even of bird-catchers and beggars. Now, these villages are not assemblies of artisans who have melted into a community, but communities that exercise the same industry. It is not the profession which ends in a grouping, but the grouping which ends in the community of profession that has suggested it. Why should it not be the same in India ?

To assign to community of profession its place among the factors that have acted on the destiny of the caste, and to make of it the unique and sufficient source of the *regime*, are two things. As much as the first proposition is at first probable, the second is inadmissible.

A Hindu,[19] a judge who has the living sense and familiar practice of the situation, Guru Prashad Sen, in trying to sum up the permanent features of the caste, has been able completely to neglect profession. Where shall we look for the essence of caste, unless in the rules, the absolute maintenance of which secures its perpetuity, the infringement of which, even if it be light, entails loss of caste for the individual and dissolution for the group ? These rules have no connection with the profession, or only an indirect one through the medium of scruples of purity. The soul of the caste is elsewhere.

III.—Race as the Foundation of Caste.

This soul of caste, Mr. Risley is seeking in the race, in the oppositions that arise from racial diversity; he is thus in direct contradiction with Mr. Nesfield. To believe him, the actual hierarchy would be the social consecration of the ethnographical scale, from the Aryans that remained pure in their highest castes down to the humblest aborigines that are penned up in the low castes. This time race is substituted for profession as the generative principle. " The nasal index " is the formula for the proportions of the nose ; this, it appears, is the most certain criterion of the race. Mr. Risley ends with this affirmation which looks strange, apparently, at least : " It is scarcely an exaggeration to set down as a law of the organization of the castes in the East-Indies that the social rank of a man varies, in the inverse ratio of the size of his nose."[20] Who would not remain a little sceptical ?

I do not pride myself to discuss the measurements and classifications of Mr. Risley. At least it must be confessed that up to the present the theories which have pretended to outline the ethnographical situation in India, have sunk into the quicksands of inextricable contradictions and difficulties. This is quite enough to set the ignorant at defiance. So perfect a harmony, there being given the deep and very accidental mixtures of so many elements, and Mr. Risley admits them himself, would really be marvellous. Mr. Nesfield is no less decisive on the rigorous concordance which he discovers between the social rank and the supposed series of industrial evolution. By what miracle would the two principles, sprung from absolutely different sources, fit together so perfectly ? I let them grapple with each other. I can do so the better, since neither the one nor the other, in the theory of their able advocates, really bears upon the fundamental question ; they touch less the origin of the castes than the rule of their hierarchy.

Alleging as an authority the ancient use of the word *varna* and the signification which is usually assigned to it in the more modern classical language, Mr. Risley sees in the inborn opposition between the conquering and the conquered—the white and the black race—the germ of a distinction

[17] Nesfield, § 158-9.

[18] Hearn, *Aryan Household*, pp. 241-2.

[19] *Calcutta Review*, July 1890, p. 49 ss.

[20] Risley, *Ethnograph. Gloss*., p. xxxiv.

of castes. The endogamous laws are the foundation of the *regime*. In the presence of a despised population the Aryans would have erected this rampart, in order to protect the purity of a blood of which they were proud. The caste is for Mr. Nesfield an affair of profession, for Mr. Risley an affair of marriage. Analogy, imitation of this primitive grouping, spreading from place to place with the authority lent to it by the sanction of the leading classes, would have multiplied to no end the ramifications, derived alternately and in accord with the cases, from diverse causes, or occasions: as community of language, neighbourhood, identity of profession, beliefs or social relations.

If by a round-about way, he finally falls back pretty closely to the orthodox system of the Brahmins,[21] the predominance step by step acquired by the priesthood would be the principal source of the whole evolution.[22] Although vitiated by simplification carried to the extreme, the theory of the mixed castes remains for him[23] a precious testimony of that incessant crossing of populations, the mixing of which in varying degrees is the capital cause which to his mind has multiplied the splitting into minor sections.

If strictly speaking, the endogamous rule of the caste belongs properly to India, the exogamous rules, the parallel action of which we have stated, are much more general. In unequal degrees and under varying forms, exogamy is an universal law. Under shifting names the exogamous groups appear on the summit and at the basis of Hindu society; eponymic *gotras* with the Brahmins, clans united by the totem with the aboriginal populations, meet, take strength from, and sometimes melt into each other; the inferior classes are ever eager of assimilating their old organization to the Brahminical legislation, the adoption of which becomes for them a title of nobility.

At this point we find with Mr. Risley, as with Mr. Nesfield, a very keen sense of the action which the traditions and customs of autochthonous tribes have exercised on the final condition of the castes. But if they agree in deriving numbers of castes from the successive dismemberment of autochthonous tribes, the part which each of them assigns to the institutions of the tribe, or more exactly, of the aboriginal tribe, is singularly unequal; Mr. Nesfield draws from them the original source of several of the laws which regulate the caste, the rule of endogamy for instance; Mr. Risley seeks in them almost only curious analogies with the customs which the Aryan element on its side has brought with it, such as the exogamous restrictions; but facts so universal fail to mean or prove anything.

Too timid theories which do not dare to emancipate themselves from Hindu tradition, remain powerless. We must be no less on our guard against theories which are too vague, too comprehensive. If community of occupation were sufficient to found the *regime* of caste, it ought to be in force in many other countries besides India. The objection is obvious. It condemns no less the system which is satisfied, without historical concatenation, in a general way to characterize the laws of caste as a survival of the ancient organization of tribe or clan.

Shall we appeal to the common features of an organization which is so natural to the archaic periods of human sociability that is found with the most different races? We remain in the vague—we prove nothing. If we think exclusively, or even principally of the organization of the aboriginal tribes of India, if we admit that it has reacted with so decisive a force upon the general condition of the Hindu world, that an ambitious class of priests would have seized upon it and made of it a weapon for fight, we upset the probable course of history and ascribe to factors which are too minute, a power out of proportion. Everything indicates that the determining action in the march of Indian civilisation belongs to the Aryan elements; the aboriginal elements have only exercised a modifying, partial and subordinate action.

[21] Risley, *op. cit.* p. xxxiv, ss. [22] Risley, *op. cit.* See Art, 'Brahman.' [23] Risley, *op. cit* xviii, xxxvi-vii.

Does that mean that this connecting of caste with tribe is sterile? I see in it, on the contrary, a new, a capital, idea provided that the facts are grappled with somewhat closely, and that the dazzling effect of commodious generalities does not make us lose sight of the necessary concatenation of historical realities. So I feel dispensed from entering into the detail of speculations which recent researches on the primitive legal organization have incidentally devoted to caste. Even those which have wisely confined themselves to the Aryan domain,[24] being too summary, have scarcely entered into the quicksand of evolution. We shall make use of them occasionally. But we wanted before all to point out the danger of too abstract statements.

Caste exists only in India. Therefore we have to look for its key in the situation which is special to India. Without closing our eyes to other information we must seek light from the facts themselves, from the analysis of the characteristical elements of the *regime*, such as observation exhibits them in the present and helps to reconstitute in the past.

IV.—Caste and the Aryan Constitution of the Family.

Caste is the frame of the whole Brahminical organization. It is in order to come within the pale of Brahminism that the aboriginal populations constitute themselves in caste and accept the strict regulations of caste, and the phenomenon goes back high into the past. Now, Brahminism may have taken up foreign elements, it may in the course of history have had to undergo exterior influences. It remains on the whole the representative in India of Aryan tradition. Without excluding in any way the eventuality of subsidiary actions, we are justified first to look out for Aryan sources of an institution which appears to us so closely blended with Brahminical doctrine and life.

The history of the old Aryan societies rests on the evolution, varying according to the places, of the ancient family constitution, such as its physiognomy may be guessed from the comparison of features scattered in the different branches of the race.

By the notion of kinship which penetrates it, by the jurisdiction which regulates rather tyrannically private life, marriage, food, ceremonial usages, by the customary practice of certain particular worships, by its corporative organization, caste, in fact, recalls to our mind the family group, such as may be dimly discerned in its various degrees in the family,—the gens and the tribe. Its original features are no less pronounced. There are, however, on closer inspection, hardly any of them of which we do not perceive the germ in the past, even if the common elements have not developed elsewhere in the same line, or spread equally far. At bottom this is the same phenomenon of which India gives us many other examples. In almost all the matters which call forth comparison with the kin branches of the Aryan stock we strike, at the same time, against minute coincidences and deep divergencies. Kinship is seen even in elements which, evidently have been cast here in a new mould.

Of the rules which control marriage in caste, the exogamic laws which exclude every union between people belonging to the same section, *gotras* or clans of different sorts are marked by their rigour. These rules have exercised a wide influence in all primitive societies. It quickly dwindled down in those surroundings where a more advanced political constitution was flourishing. The principle was certainly familiar to the Aryan race as to others. According to the testimony of Plutarch,[25] the Romans in the ancient period never married women of their blood. Amongst the matrons who are known to us, it has been remarked that actually none bears the same gentile name as her husband. *Gotra* is properly Brahminical; the part which it plays, is certainly ancient. The exogamic rule is rooted, one cannot doubt it, in the remotest past of the immigrants. It is

[24] I think, for instance of Mr. Hearn, *The Aryan Household.*

[25] Cp. Kovalevskey, *Famille et Propriété Primitives*, p. 19 sq.

so really primitive, under this form of *gotra*, that it is anterior to caste, it extends beyond the caste-frame, the same *gotras* go through a number of different castes. The *regime* of the caste, therefore, has been super-added to it. The two institutions have been melted together as well as possible; they in no way belong necessarily together. This is exactly what happened at Athens, when the establishment of 'demos' assigned to different districts families which belonged to one gens, to one single *genos*.

The endogamic law, however, strikes us most, the law which only authorizes a union between betrothed of the same caste. It is hardly less spread than the exogamic law in the primitive phases of human societies. It has left very apparent traces far beyond the range of Aryan peoples ; it is linked with a whole array of facts and sentiments that reveal its origin.

At Athens at the time of Demosthenes, it was necessary, in order to belong to a phratry (*phratria*), to be born of a legitimate marriage in one of the families which made it up. In Greece, at Rome, in Germany, the laws, or the customs grant the sanction of the legal marriage only to a union contracted with a woman of equal rank, who is a free citizen.[26]

Everybody has present in his mind the struggle which for centuries the plebeians had to maintain at Rome in order to conquer the *jus connubii*, the right of marrying women of patrician rank. It is currently taken for a political conflict between rival classes. It means quite another thing. It is not merely from pride of nobility, but in the name of a sacred right, that the patrician *gentes*, being of pure race and having remained faithful to the integrity of the ancient religion, rejected the alliance of impure plebeians who were of mixed origin and destitute of family rites. The patricians were guided by the same principle which, in a new frame, inspires to-day the endogamic law of caste. But in India, under the *regime* of caste, it is always aggravating itself and narrowing the avenues ; the strife of classes at Rome, under a political *regime*, lowers the barriers ; it soon widens the circle to the whole category of citizens without further distinction. At this point and even in so opposed conditions, analogy continues in curious prolongations. The *connubium* goes beyond the city ; it is granted successively to several friendly populations. Is this not, in the main, the exact counterpart of what happens in India, when sections of caste accept or refuse marriage with other sections ? when this circle varies, according to localities and circumstances, with a facility which seems to ruin the rigour of the general precept ? A late parallelism which, in two currents, else so divergent as the Hindu caste and the Roman city, seems to attest the kinship of the origins.

Even in theory, a man of higher caste may marry women even of the lowest caste. It was not otherwise at Rome, or at Athens. The duty of marrying a woman of equal rank, did not exclude their unions with women of an inferior stock, strangers, or freed women. Quite similar is in the Hindu family the case of a Śûdra woman. Excluded by the theory, she is not excluded in the practice, but she cannot give birth to children that are the equals of their father. We know, why. On both sides there is between husband and wife, an insuperable obstacle—the religious inequality.

According to Manu [27] the gods do not eat the offering prepared by a Śûdra. In Rome the presence of a stranger at a sacrifice of the *gens* was sufficient to give offence to the gods.[28] The Śûdra woman is a stranger ; she does not belong to the race, which, by the investiture with the sacred thread, is born to the fulness of religious life. And if it is permitted to higher castes to marry a Śûdra woman at the side of the legitimate wife who possesses the full right, the union must be celebrated without the hallowed prayers.[29] In the Aryan conception of marriage, husband and wife form the sacrificing couple attached to the family altar of the hearth. Upon this common conception the endogamy of the Hindu caste rests ultimately just as the limitations imposed on the classical family.

[26] Cf. Hearn, *l. c.*, pp. 156-7.

[27] III, 18.

[28] *Fustel de Coulanges, La cité Antique*, p. 117.

[29] *Ind. Stud.*, X., p. 21.

It is prohibited to eat with people of another caste, to use dishes prepared by people of a lower caste. This is one of the oddities which are surprising to us. Its secret is not impenetrable. We have to think of the religious function, which, at all times, was assigned to the repast by the Aryans.[30]

As a produce of the sacred hearth, it is the exterior sign of the family community, of its continuity in the past and in the present; from this come the libations, and in India, the daily oblations to the ancestors. Even there where, by the inevitable wear and tear of the institutions, the primitive meaning could be weakened; this signification remains clearly alive in the funeral repast, the *perideipnon* of the Greeks, the *silicernium* of the Romans, which, on the occasion of the death of relatives manifests the indissoluble unity of the lineage.[31]

Proofs are abounding that the repast has preserved with the Hindus a religious significance. The Brahmin neither eats at the same time, nor from the same vessel, not only with a stranger or an inferior, but not even with his proper wife, nor with his own sons that are not yet initiated.[32] These scruples are so really of a religious nature that it is prohibited to share the food even of a Brahmin, if for any reason, even an accidental one that is independent of his will, he is under the ban of some defilement.[33] Even a Śûdra cannot, without contamination, eat the food of a defiled twice-born.

Impurity communicates itself; it, therefore, excludes from the religious function of the repast. And this is the reason why, by sitting down at a common banquet with his caste-fellows, the sinner who has been excluded temporarily, consecrates his rehabilitation. It is owing to the same principle that, on the solemn marriage of the Romans, bridegroom and bride divide a cake in presence of the sacred fire; the ceremony is essential; it establishes the adoption of the woman into the family religion of the husband. Let us not see in this an isolated whimsical custom; it could be rightly said that the repast made in common was the characteristic act of religion in the worship, which united the *curia* or the *phratria*.[34]

The Roman repasts of the *Caristia*, which united all the kindred excluded not only every stranger, but every relative whose conduct appeared to make him unworthy.[35] The Persians had preserved similar usages.[36] The daily repasts of the *Prytanies* had remained with the Greeks one of the official religious rites of the city. But its menu was not indifferent. The nature of the viands and the kind of wine which had to be served in them were defined by rules which could depend on various causes which it is not the place here to investigate. In excluding such or such articles of food, India did nothing but generalize the application of the principle; it did not invent it altogether. This principle, too, has its analogies and its germs in the common past.

A strange thing! The Hindus who, under other aspects, have preserved more faithfully than anybody else, the signification of the common repast, and who, it seems, have extended it, have receded, more than others, from the primitive type in the liturgical form of the funeral banquet, the *Śrâddha*. According to the theory, instead of assembling the relatives, it is offered to Brahmins. But they are put forth as representing the ancestors, and receive the food in their name. Even so, he who offers the sacrifice, must, symbolically at least, associate with them after the manner of the ancestors themselves. This is indeed, in spite of the new ideas which the developed ritual has been able to introduce, the ideal prolongation of the family repast.

30 Hearn, p. 32; *Fustel de Coulanges*, p. 182.
31 Leist, *Altarisches Jus Civile*, p. 201 ss.
32 *Mânava Dh.* § iv., 43, *Apost. Dh.* § II, 4, 9, 7 and the note of Bühler.
33 *Vishun Smriti*, xxii, 8-10.
34 *Fustel de Coulanges*, p. 135.
35 Leist, *Altar. Jus Civile*, p. 49-50, 263-4.
36 Ibid.

The Brahmins that are invited, must be selected with a care which reminds us of the law of purity imposed on the primitive guests. If Brahmins are substituted for relations, the novelty is sufficiently explained by the encroachment of sacerdotal power.[37] Do not the commentators prescribe in the same way that the fine for a murder must be paid to the Brahmins ?[38] Yet it had been paid, in the Aryan past, most certainly to the family of the murdered person. The way in which the law-books insist upon reserving the *Śrâddhas* to the Brahmins betrays the tendency which they obey.[39] One place always remains eventually reserved to relations.[40] It is visible, it springs from the very restrictions that in the current practice, the *Śrâddhas* were the occasion of true common repasts. The Hindus distinguish various kinds, which are in no way connected with funerals.[41] Such a 'purificatory *Śrâddha*' (*goshṭhi Śrâddha*) really appears to be the ritualistic reflection of that caste repast which celebrates the rehabilitation of a culpable member. In incorporating it in the series, they remembered that a close relationship connected its meaning with the ancient family repast.

It derives its sacredness from the sanctity of the domestic fire. In Roman antiquity the exclusion from the religious and civil community is expressed by 'the interdiction of fire,' but also and at the same time by 'the interdiction of water.'[42] It seems, likewise, that in India, the association of an extraneous fire and of polluted water renders the food, offered, or prepared by an unworthy hand, particularly impure. I have related that higher castes accept grain roasted by certain lower castes, but on condition that it contains no admixture of water[43]; that the Hindus who accepted pure milk from certain Mussulmans, would reject it with indignation, if they thought that water was added to it. In the rites which accompany the exclusion from caste they fill the vessel of the culprit with water, and a slave upsets it, with the formula: "I deprive such a one of water."[44] We see that these notions have, in Aryan life, distant connections and curious analogies. They explain, moreover, how certain texts which belong to the ancient period of sacerdotal literature, place in the same rank the admission to the communion of water and to marriage.[45]

The sense of the common repast and of the correlative prohibitions is so forcibly marked in the manners, that it is surprising to the contemporaneous observer who is free of every archæological bias. "The communion of food," says Mr. Ibbetson, "is used as the exterior sign, the solemn manifestation of the communion of blood."[46] The relations assemble round the same table. The same principle, applied inversely, prohibits sharing of the same repast; and, more generally, every contact with people who have no share in the same family rites. This tradition has left traces not only in India, but also elsewhere. The *jus osculi*, the contact by embrace, proves kinship.[47] The germ, therefore, is ancient also in this point. The impurity even of the corpse, is, no doubt, explained in part by this consideration that death forcibly excludes the departed from the rites. It therefore places him outside the family ; his contact, his presence defiles the relations in the manner of an outcaste.[48] Let us remember that exclusion from caste is, by the ceremonial itself, likened unto death ; for both the cases funerals are celebrated. The impurity which stains relatives on the days of mourning is a conception common to the whole Aryan antiquity. Impurity is transmitted by contact. From the man it spreads to the woman and to the servant. It is therefore necessary to avoid carefully every staining touch, every contact with people, who, if they do not fall under the influence of an accidental defilement, are impure by the fact, that they do not belong to the communion of the same fire and the same water. The development of this law in the caste is perfectly logical.

37 Leist, *Altar. Jus Gentium*, p. 205.
38 Hopkins, *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, xiii, p. 113.
39 *Mânava Dh.* S., iii. 139 ss.
40 *Mânava Dh.* S. *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* iii., 148.
41 *Mânava Dh.* S. *op. cit.*, *loc cit.* iii., 254.
42 Nesfield, § 189, 190.
43 Nesfield, § 82.
44 *Gautama Dh. S.* xx. 2 ss.
45 *Indische Stud.* x. pp. 77, 78.
46 Ibbetson, p. 185.
47 Cf. Leist, *Altar. Jus. Civ.* pp. 49-50, 261.
48 *Leist Graeco-ital. Rechtsgesch.* p. 34 ss.

Even the tribunal of the caste, with its limited jurisdiction, is not without antecedents. The ancient family has a council which in Rome, Greece or Germany, surrounds and assists the father on important occasions, notably when it is the question of judging a culpable son.[49] The exclusion from the family is a parallel to the exclusion from the caste. On both sides it is equivalent to an excommunication which, under its most dreaded form, is expressed in Latin with the qualification of *sacer*.[50] It produces, with the Romans, a religious and civil situation very analogous to that of the outcaste. of the *patita* Hindu. The Latin *gens* acknowledges a chief who judges the quarrels between its members. Similarly to the caste, the *gentes* take decisions which are respected by the city;[51] just like the castes, they follow particular customs which are binding upon their members.[52]

On their part, some Vedic families are distinguished by certain ceremonies, by a predilection for certain divinities,[53] in which there seems to be a survival of that religious particularism which reserved for the classical family, for the *gens*, special worships and exclusive rites.

Though in several cases the veneration of a common ancestor or of an official patron suggests in India the Graeco-Roman worship of the *eponymous* heroes, it cannot be said that this is a salient trait in the caste. Owing to the more free course of speculation, religious individualism has made advances in India which elsewhere have been checked by the coming into power of a political constitution, decidedly opposed to every innovation of the cult. In India, religion could become localized, split into endless divisions, and, on occasion, mobilized with a liberty unknown on classical ground. It is mostly through its practice, through its customs and their direct kinship with most antique conceptions that the continuity of tradition is evidenced in the caste.

(To be continued.)

MORE ABOUT GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

BY WILLIAM FOSTER.

SINCE writing, in the number for September last (Vol. XL, p. 247 ff.), an account of Gabriel Boughton, the doctor whose name is associated with the opening-up of English commerce in Bengal, I have unexpectedly come across a hitherto unnoticed letter from him, which adds a new and interesting fact to the little that is known of his career.

This document exists only in the form of a transcript, entered in the *Surat Factory Inward Letter Book*, Volume I (1646-47). The volume forms part of the Bombay records, but, owing to its having been sent home temporarily for calendaring purposes, I have had the opportunity of examining it fully. It has suffered much from damp and decay, and, although it has been skillfully repaired, many of the letters are wholly or in part illegible. This applies especially to the copy of Boughton's letter, which comes first in the volume; at least half of it has perished, including the greater part of the signature. There can, however, be no doubt as to the latter; the GH and the final N are plainly visible, as well as the top of the B, while there is a postscript with two initials, the first of which is clearly G, while the second looks like B. Further, in the same volume is a copy of a letter of November 28, 1646, from Biânâ (near Agra), likewise received at Surat on the 22nd of the following month, which refers to (and apparently encloses) one from 'Mr Boughton.' Evidently the two writers travelled down together from Agra.

The date of the letter is the next point to be considered. The transcriber has unfortunately omitted the month; and all that we have to go upon is that it was written upon the 4th—

[49] Leist. *Altar. Jus. Civ.* p. 273 ss. Kovalevskey. *Fam. et Prop. primit.* p. 119 ss.

[50] Leist, *Graeco-ital* R. p. 319.

[51] *Fustel de Coulange, La Cite Antique.* p. 118-9.

[52] Max Muller, cited by Hearn, p. 121; *Ind. Stud.* X., p. 88 ss.

[53] Becker-Marquardt. *Rom. Alterth*, ii., p. 49.

and received at Surat on December 22nd, 1646. It commences, however, with a reference to a previous letter of August 9th, and, allowing for the time taken in transit (*via* Agra), I conclude that October 4th is its probable date. Had he written on September 4th, Boughton would most likely have said 'ultimo' instead of 'August' in mentioning his previous communication.

The letter is dated from 'Balucke', and the contents make it clear that this is Balkh, in Afghan Turkistan. It may seem somewhat surprising to find two Englishmen (Boughton and the companion he mentions) in such an out of the way place as Balkh, which had surely never before been visited by any of their fellow countrymen; but there is really no mystery about it. The reader will remember that Boughton had been sent up from Surat to the Court of the Mogul Emperor for the purpose of acting as physician to Asâlat Khân, who was the *Mîr Bakhshî* and an especial favourite of Shâh Jahân. Now, at this very time the imperial forces had conquered Balkh and were endeavouring to make themselves masters of Badakhshân, though they were being strongly opposed by Abdu'l-Azîz, the son of the fugitive ruler of that country. Asâlat Khân had evidently been sent to take part in the operations, and Boughton, as his body physician, would naturally go with him. It is less clear what Baines, the other Englishmen, was doing in those parts. There is no one of that name in the contemporary lists of the East India Company's servants, and indeed the fact that Boughton mentions Baines's desire to be granted a salary shows that he was not a recognized member of the service. Possibly, he may have been the (unnamed) trumpeter who, as reported in an Agra letter of November 12th, 1645 (*O.C.* 1961), had been sent up from that place to the court at Lahore on the 29th of the preceding month.

After this preface we may proceed to examine the letter itself, premising that the words between square brackets are conjectural insertions to carry on the sense where gaps occur in the original. It begins as follows :—

"Worpll. etc.,

Since my [last unto] you, dated August the 9th, by a Dutch [man] whom A[ss]alat Ckaune licensed to dep[art for] his count[ry], hath not happined any[thing]e worthy [y]our Worps. perusall ; only th[inke i]t requisite [to] acquaint you how that in [my for]mer unto you I did write that Assala[t Ckaun]e had granted mee leave for four or fi[ve mo]nths with his brother, Keyling Ckaw[ne], to goe to the Kinge and make an end of [the trouble]some bussines formerly by your W[orps] as in letter specified ; since which hee ha[th changed his] mind and will not permitt my soe [departing], notwithstanding my earnest in[treaty ; yet] promises m[eans] how it shall be don[e] if theire p[ ]sent."

The rest of the page is practically illegible. In many cases the beginning and end of the line can be read, but the loss of the central portion renders it impossible to make out the sense. We gather that Sadullah Khân has departed for Kâbul, after writing to some official (apparently Mîrzâ Amîn, the Governor of Surat) to treat the English better ; and that the Emperor has ordered Asâlat Khân to remain in Balkh as Governor during the winter, promising to recall him in the spring. The letter proceeds :—

"This hee hopes (as doe wee) ; but [tis] uncertaine, by [rea]son of the Kings wavering mind, which, like a weat[her] cocke, turns with the wind. But this I am certaine, [that] it is one of the unwholsomest countryes that e[ver I] was in in my life, for never since my en[tranc]e into this citty can I bee in perfect health ; [also]

Mr. Barnes, who desires his service to bee [presen]ted, with remembrance of some sallary, what [your] Worp. etc. shall think fitting ; and by soe doing [you shall] oblidge him to pray for your [Worps etc.] p[rosperi]ties. [The King is] now jorniing towards Pissore [1], where re[port says] hee stayes this winter ; after which he [means to retu]rne againe to Cabull, if not to Balluck ; [in the] which place hee intends his residence unt[ill the taki]ng of Buckarrath [2], the which is 250 or 300 [miles] from this place."

Once again the letter grows unintelligible. Something is being said about the preparations for the Spring campaign, including the construction of a bridge of boats across the Oxus : mention is made of the rebel Prince (Abdu'l-Aziz) being at Bokhara with a strong force : and there appears to be a reference to some drastic executions by which Asâlat Khân maintained order in his district. Then the writer concludes with assurances of his willingness to comply with any wishes of the 'Honble. Company my masters.' The postscript already mentioned is practically illegible.

It will be noticed that Boughton refers to some 'troublesome bussines' which the President and Council at Surat had asked him to settle, and which was of sufficient importance to warrant his making a special journey to court, if he could get leave from Asâlat Khân to do so. Its nature we can only conjecture ; but my own guess would be that it related to the recovery of the cost of some tapestry, belonging to Sir Francis Crane, which had been sold in 1630 to Rao Ratan Singh Hârâ, Râjâ of Bûndî. This debt was still outstanding, as the Râjâ's grandson and successor, Chhatarsâl, professed his inability to discharge it. The Surat factors were continually being pressed by the Company to realise the money ; and in a letter dated January 25th, 1647 (*O. C.* 2023) they replied :—

"We cannot yet recover any part of it, by reason of the Kings remote distance, who hath many monthes spent his time in the conquest of the kingdome of Bullock [Balkh], a part of Tartaria, and is at present very intent theron ; so that nothing can be done in the busines untill his return, Raja Chuttersall being emploid in that service. But from him we must never expect payment nor ought but delaies and delusions ; as we have sufficiently experimented by the last express order (sudainly after we had presented the King) given him to satisfy the debt ; which he then fairly promised should be done at his return into his country ; whither he went not long after, accompanied by two of our house servants, unto whom he promised payment of the mony ; who continued with him many daies, enterteined with fair hopes of satisfaction, but urging him more importunately to discharge his engagements, he possitively affirmed that hee had nothing remaning but his sword and his horse, and that what before he pretended was only to please the King and content us for that time ; wherupon, all other means having failed, we resolved to sell his debt to the King, who only can discompt it out of his service ; wherin we moved Assalutt Ckaun, who promised us his assistance therin, but (as said) the Kings absenee hindreth our further progress in the busines."

There is no mention here of Boughton's help having been sought ; but it is quite probable that he was asked to assist, especially as his patron, Asâlat Khân, was to be the intermediary in the matter.

[1] Peshawar.

[2] Bokhara.

THE VEDIC CALENDAR.

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., MYSORE.

(Continued from p. 84.)

"OR else the minor session of a year of the Tapaśchits may be repeated four times, so that with three such sessions the major session of twelve years is completed or else they may observe the session in the Jyôtishṭôma way (*i. e.*, the Gavâm-Ayana); or else they may hold their session in each year seriatim (*gaṇasaṁvatsarâṇâṁ kalpa*).[48]

"Then the sacrificial session of thirty-six years of the Śâktyas. The foodstuff used in this sacrifice is flesh instead of cooked rice; for the Inner Man is the food-giving deity of this sacrifice. Usually these two foodstuffs, flesh and rice, are the sacrificial offerings.

"These long sessions are meant only for gods, for the gods (*alone*) are long-lived. Others think that they are possible also for men; according to them, many persons, such as sons, grandsons, and sons of grandsons undergo initiation successively and press the Sôma-plant. These Atirâtra days are not accompanied by the central day of the year and constitute what is called *Ûrdhvâyana* or 'lengthened year.' If the Atirâtra day or the central day is celebrated (*one after another*), then the desired ascending order (*in the era or years*) is secured. No rule about these sessions is laid down in the Kalpas or in the Brâhmaṇas. Still they teach us this ancient doctrine (namely the Gavâm-Ayana and other varieties). Of all the units of intercalary days celebrated by chanting as many Sâma-verses as the number of days in each unit, the unit of twenty-one intercalary days is the last."

The most important points that are to be particularly noticed in the above passage are: (1) the duration of the session of the Tapaśchits as compared with that of the Gavâm-Ayana; (2) the spreading out of the session; (3) the question raised by the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra as to the possibility or impossibility of all the sessional sacrifices being observed by a single man, however long-lived he might be; and (4) the absence of the central day of the year in these sessions. We shall presently see how in the place of twelve days celebrated by others, probably at the close of every fourth year, some celebrated only a single day. It follows, therefore, that if the latter counted 360 such single days, the former would count twelve times as many days. This is what appears to have been meant by the statement that the twelve-years' session of the Tapaśchits is equal to twelve times the duration of the Gavâm Ayana. In his commentary on the Śrauta-Sûtra of Âśvalâyana, Gârgya-nârâyaṇa has clearly stated that the twelve-years' session of the Tapaśchits may be so spread out that seventy-two months shall fall in the first half of the session and the same number of months in the second half.[49] Likewise, the session of thirty-six years of the Tapaśchits or of the Śâktyas. This amounts to saying that, just as twelve or twenty-one days are inserted in the middle of an ordinary year, these sessions of four, twelve, or thirty-six years are also inserted in the middle of an ordinary year. It is clear, therefore, that all these sessions are intercalary periods, not ordinary years. Had these and other sessions been ordinary years, the question raised by the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra about the possibility of all the sessional sacrifices being performed by a single man would not have cropped up at all; for it is quite possible for a man to live for 56 or 60 years, so that he may commence a sacrifice in his 20th or 24th year and bring it to a close after 36 years. It follows, therefore, that these sessional days are not ordinary consecutive days, but periodical intercalary days. We shall see that the Vedic poets knew that the solar year differed from the synodic lunar year by $11\frac{1}{4}$ days

[48] This seems to refer to the intercalation of five days to each year: see Nidâna-Sûtra, x, 1. For other varieties of the session of the Tapaśchits, see Gârgyanârâyaṇa's Commentary on Âśvalâyana-Śrauta-Sûtra, xii, 5, 14.

[49] Âśvalâyana, xii, 5, 14.

and that the Sâvana year was less than the solar year by $5\frac{1}{4}$ days. When these $11\frac{1}{4}$ days made a twelfth day, as they would in every fourth year and when the $5\frac{1}{4}$ days amounted to 21 days in the course of every four years, the Vedic poets performed their sessional sacrifice on the 12th or the 21st day and counted these days apart under the name of Gavâm-Ayana. Accordingly a Gavâm-Ayana of 360 days is equal to $360 \times 4 = 1440$ years. If, instead of counting the 12th day apart, all the 12 days were counted apart, as the Tapaśchits seem to have done, even then the session of 12 years would still be equal to $12 \times 360 \times 4 \div 12 = 1440$ years. It is clear that no man can possibly live for 1440 years and perform the sacrifice of so long a session. Similarly, for each day counted by the followers of the Gavâm-Ayana, the Śâktyas seem to have counted 36 days in every cycle of four years, and to have thereby counted 36 years in the course of 1440 years. Clearly, then the performance of all these sessional sacrifices, and the counting of such great periods of years, was the work, not of one man, but of generations consisting of sons, grandsons, and sons of grandsons and others, as stated by the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra. It follows, therefore, that Jaimini's interpretation of the 250 twenty-one days' session, or of the one thousand years' session of the Viśvasṛiks, in the sense of a session of 1,000 days, in order to make the performance of all the sessional sacrifices possible for a single man, is entirely wrong, and quite against ancient tradition as set forth in the Nidâna-Sûtra. Scholars who have been entertaining doubts about the Vedic chronology should pay particular attention to the statement of the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra, that these sessional days are all Atirâtra days with no central day, and that, if the Atirâtra day or the central day is counted apart seriatim, the desired ascent (*lubdhô rćhaḥ*) in time is secured. This is clear proof that the Vedic poets kept an era of their own in terms of Atirâtra days or of central days.

In explaining the above passage, I stated that, corresponding to the celebration of a single day by the followers of the Gavâm-Ayana, others, like the Tapaśchits, celebrated twelve intercalary days at the close of every fourth year. This statement requires proof ; and that proof is contained in the following passage of the Nidâna-Sûtra, IV, 12 :—

अथातो गवामयनम्. तदेक एकेनाह्नाभिविदधते ज्योतिष्टोमेन. अथैके अतिरात्रचतुर्विंशनवाहव्रतातिरात्र इति कृत्वा ज्योतिष्टोमेनैव संस्तृणंति. अथैके गोआयुषी दशरात्रमित्युपाहरंति. एतं संवत्सरप्रवर्ह इत्याचक्षते शंखाहतमिति च.

"Then as regards the Gavâm-Ayana :—

Some celebrate it in one day in the Jyôtishṭôma way; others spread it also in the Jyôtishṭôma way over twelve days, of which the first day is an Atirâtra day with the recitation of 24 verses, followed by nine days, the day of Mahâ-Vrata, and a final Atirâtra day; some others hold it for twelve days made up of a period of two days termed *gô* and *âyus*, and another period of ten days. This period of twelve days they call 'the growth of the year,' and celebrate it by blowing a conchshell."

From the Nidâna-Sûtra, X, 1, we have learnt that the periods of 12 and 21 days are two intercalary units. From the above passage we have learnt that the session of the Gavâm-Ayana may be celebrated in one day, *viz.*, the 12th day or the 21st day, or during all the twelve days. It appears that like the twenty-first day, which is, as we have already seen, the product of four quarter-days at the end of four solar years, the twelfth day is also the product of the same four quarter-days. That it is the product of four quarter-days, seems to be implied in the following passage of the Nidâna-Sûtra, IX, 6 :—

अथात एकादशरात्रः एकादशरात्रांता अहीना द्वादशाहप्रभृतीनि सत्राणि. किमेकं स्थानमंतरीयामिति वैकादशरात्रं करोति.

" Then as regards the eleven nights :—

The *Ahîna* period does not extend beyond eleven nights. Sessional sacrifice is continued from the twelfth day and onwards. He observes the *Ahîna* period only for eleven days, lest he might encroach upon one place (*one day*) more."

The above passage clearly shows that the difference of eleven full days between the lunar and the solar years constitutes the period of *Ahîna* sacrifices, and that the twelfth day is an extra day, scrupulously excluded by the sacrificer from the *Ahîna* period. By way of distinguishing between the two kinds of sacrifices, the *Ahîna* sacrifices and the *Sattra* sacrifices, the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra says in IX., 9 :—

अथायं द्वादशाहोऽहीनो भवती ३ सत्रमिति. अहीनो भवतीत्याहुः एको दीक्षेतेति. अथाप्याहीनिकान्यहानीत्याचक्षते दाशरात्रिकाण्यहानि ... ... त्रयोऽहीना इति धानंजप्यः एकाहाहीनः अहीनाहीनः सत्राहीन इति. अयं ज्योतिष्टोमोऽतिरात्रः षोडशिमानेकाहाहीनः अत्र हि न किंचनैकाहिकं कर्म हीयत इति. द्वादशाहोऽहीनाहीनः अत्र हि न किंचनाहीनिकमहर्हीयत इति. गवामयनं सत्राहीनः अत्र हि न किंचन सात्रिकमहर्हीयत इति.

" Well then ! does the period of twelve days constitute the *Ahîna* form of sacrifices, or the sessional form ? They say that it constitutes an *Ahîna* period ; and they declare that one person only should undergo the rite of initiation into it. But others say that the period of ten days constitutes an *Ahîna* period . . . . Dhânaṁjapya says that there are three forms of *Ahîna* sacrifices : (1) an *Ahîna* sacrifice of one day ; (2) an *Ahîna* sacrifice continued for several *Ahîna days* ; (3) *Ahîna* sacrifices taking the form of sessional sacrifices. An *Atirâtra* sacrifice with the recitation of sixteen verses, performed in the Jyôtishṭôma way, is an *Ahîna* sacrifice of one day; it is so called because none of the rites usually performed in a single day are neglected here. The twelve-days' sacrifice constitutes the *Ahîna* sacrifice of several days ; it is so called because none of the days constituting the *Ahîna* period is here lost. Gavâm-Ayana forms the *Ahîna* form of the sessional sacrifices; it is so called because none of the sessional days is here lost (*hîna*)."[50]

This apparently meaningless discussion about the distinction between the *Ahîna* and *Sattra* sacrifices ends in the lame conclusion that the word *Ahîna* means the absence of the loss of a day or part of a day, and that it is applicable to all kinds of sessional sacrifices in which neither a day nor part of a day is omitted. It seems probable that the eleven full days, which form the difference between the lunar and the solar years, were originally calld *Ahînas* or 'not-incomplete' ones, for the reason that those eleven days are not as incomplete as the one-fourth part of a day at the end of every solar year. It is clear, therefore, that a series of the intercalary periods of twelve days, or a series of the twelfth Atirâtra days, is taken to constitute a *Sattra* called Gavâm-Ayana. Similarly, a series of the intercalary periods of twenty-one days, or a series of successive twenty-first days, is taken to constitute another form of the Gavâm-Ayana. As the 12th and 21st days are the product of the four quarter-days at the close of any four consecutive solar years, the interval between any two successive twelfth days or twenty-first days must necessarily be four solar years. That a sacrificial session is made up of a series of such 12th or 21st days, is clearly stated in the Nidâna-Sûtra, III., 7 :—

अहीनैकाहसमासा ह्येव सत्राणि भवंति.

" The assemblage of the single days closing the *Ahîna* period constitutes sacrificial sessions."

That a series of successive twelfth days are termed Atirâtras, is implied in the following passage of the Nidâna-Sûtra, ix., 10 :—

अथातस्सत्राणि. तेषां द्वादशाहः प्रथमः तस्मिन्नुपकृतानि. तत्र द्वे उपाधिस्याते अंतरेणातिरात्रौ च दशरात्रं च. यत्रैकेनाह्नार्थो भवति व्रतमाहरेदेतदेकार्थे दृष्टमिति. तस्य तदेव स्थानं यत्संवत्सरे. द्व्यहार्थे गो आयुषी तयो-

[50] See also " Gavâm-Ayana : the Vedic Era," pp. 60, 61.

स्तदेव स्थानं यत्संवत्सरे· त्र्यहार्थे त्रिकद्रुकान्· चतुरहार्थे व्रतचतुर्थान्· पंचाहार्थे अभिप्लवपंचाहं· षड-हार्थेऽभिप्लवस्संप्लवते· एतेन न्यायेन एष एकोत्तरकल्पः क्रमते, आ चत्वारिंशद्रात्रात्· उपचीयमानेष्व-हस्सु, रोहेणोपचयः प्रवर्तते· एतं रात्रिसत्रन्याय इत्याचक्षते·

"Then the *Sattras* :—Among them the period of 12 days is the first (*unit of a session*). In that period are observed all the functions of sessional sacrifices. There are two distinguishing features of it : between the two *Atirâtra* days, one at the commencement and the other at the close, comes the period of ten days. When the purpose of the sessional sacrifice is served only by a one day's rite, the sacrificer should perform it in the form of the *Mahâvrata* day, for it is seen to serve the purpose of a single day : that place which such a single day has in the body of the year is its true place. When he has to observe two days, he should celebrate such days as are known by the names *gô* and *âyus* ; the very place which the two days have in the body of the year is their true place. When he has to observe three days, he should celebrate the three days known as *Trikadrukas* (1 *jyôtis*, 2 *gô*, 3 *âyus*). For four days, he has to observe four *Mahâvrata* days. For five days, he should observe the first five days of the six *Abhiplava* days. For six days, there come the six *Abhiplava* days. In accordance with this principle, the period of sacrificial session progresses by the addition of single days up to forty nights. When the number of days is on the increase, the increased number of days is observed in the same ascending order. This they call the principle of sessional nights (*râtri-sattra-nyâya*)."

It is highly necessary that we should take into full consideration all that has been stated in the above passage. We know that a sacrificer proceeding to perform a sessional sacrifice may hold it either for twelve days or on a single day. Now we are told that, when he wants to finish it in one day, he should treat the day as the *Mahâvrata* day, which is the eleventh among the twelve days. By saying that the very place which it has in the body of the year is its true place, the author of the sûtra seems to imply that, when a single day is celebrated, it should be counted as the last but one day of the year. Since this day is also one of the days which constitute *Râtrisattra* or an *Atirâtrasattra*, 'a session of excessive nights,' it is also called *Atirâtra* like the twelfth day. For purposes of ritual convenience, the eleventh day seems to have been selected and termed the twelfth day. Next we are told of the ceremonial forms in which two days, three days, and so on, are to be celebrated. That these days, from two to forty and from forty and upwards, are not the days of the ordinary year, but are successive twelfth days treated as the eleventh or the last but one day of the cyclic year, is clear from the sessional name of *Râtrisattra* or *Atirâtrasattra*, 'session of excessive nights', which those days go to form. Also from what the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra says in another place, we can clearly understand that the days constituting the *Râtrisattra* are not the consecutive days of an ordinary year, but are such eleventh or twelfth days of the cyclic year as were once identical with new or full-moon days. In discussing the various forms of sacrifices and recitations to be performed in the sacrificial session of 33 days, the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra distinctly says that the days constituting a sacrificial session represent several full or new-moons, and indicate the lapse of several years. In order to understand the meaning of the passage, it is necessary that we should know the different plans of arranging the 33 days with their technical names for sacrificial purposes. According to the Kṛishṇa-Yajurvêda, the period of 33 days is split up into an *Atirâtra* day, followed by three groups of five days each and the central day followed by fifteen days. But the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra makes the Viśvajit day or the central day to occupy the 26th place in the series as shown in the adjoining table. On this central day, the priests have to recite all the six *pṛishṭha-stôtras* and

all the ten *stômas* or collection of verses, such as nine verses, fifteen verses, seventeen verses, twenty-one verses, twenty-seven verses, thirty-three verses, twenty-four verses, thirty-six verses, forty-four verses, and forty-eight verses. We can now proceed to interpret the passage, which runs as follows:—

According to the Kṛishṇa-Yajurvêda.

[J = *jyôtis* ; G = *gô* : Â = *âyus*.]

1, *Atirâtra day.*				
J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.
2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16

17, *Viśvajit day.*					
J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.	G.
18	19	20	21	22	......
23	24	25	26	27	28

29-32, *Chhandôma days.*

33, *Atirâtra day.*

According to the Nidâna-Sûtra.

1, *Atirâtra day.*				
J.	G.	Â.	G.	Â.
2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26
27, *Viśvajit day.*				
28	29	30	31	32
33, *Atirâtra day.*				

अथता अंजनाभ्यंजनाः प्रजापतीञ्सामुपकृताः तत्र सर्वस्तोममुपहारयति. एषोऽरूक्ष स्स्तोमतःसंस्थातः पृष्ठतःइति तत् यच्छड्विंशस्थानमेवमपर्वविलोप इति. उत्तमावभिप्लवावावृत्तौ भवतो ३ अनावृत्ताविति? अनावृत्ताविति शौचिवृक्षि:न ह्यावृत्तिर्विज्ञायते. अथाप्यमध्ये सर्वस्तोमो मध्यस्थानो विषुवानिति. आवृत्ताविति गौतमः प्रतिष्ठाकामसत्रे एतस्मिन् स्थाने कृतं करिष्यन्भवति इति. यद्वैतदनादिष्टावृत्तिरिति. नाभिप्लवस्यावृत्तिः क्वचनादिश्यतेऽर्थ एवावर्तयतीति. यद्वा एतदमध्ये सर्वस्तोम इत्यपर्वविलोपायैतद्भवति. पश्यामश्चामध्ये विषुवंतं यथा त्रयादशरात्र संसत्स्विति संवत्सरसम्मितासु. प्रायणीये चतुर्विंशं प्रतिषिध्यन् तं त्रिवृदेव कार्यमित्याह निष्पन्नर्चोदितत्वात् एतदपूर्वं प्रायणायं चेति. स्तोमविकारमेके तस्यैवाधिकाराच्चतुर्विंशं स्वेव कार्यमिति निष्ठा. तथाहि ब्राह्मणं ता एतास्संवत्सराप्तिमुपाकृतास्तत्र यदेतान्यहानि एवं संवत्सरस्य प्रयुक्तमान्यहानि भविष्यंतीति. तृतीयेऽभिप्लवे इषोवृधीयसमंते कुर्यान्नकुर्यादिति. न कुर्यादित्याहुः पृष्ठयसन्निपातिके इमे भवतः न चेह पृष्ठयो भवतीति. कुर्यादित्यपरं नानापर्वणोरिमे संतानार्थे भवतः नानापर्वणोरेवैते अहर्गणश्चैकाहश्च. भूयसां चैव सांवत्सरिकाणां द्रव्याणामविप्रयोगो भवति.

X, 3.

Then these rites of anointing the eyes and other members of the body are intended to secure Prajâpati [Father Time]. On this day the priest recites all the *Stômas* or systems of chants, for this day must not be wanting in its *Stômas*, its basic forms of sacrifices, and its recitations called *Prishthyas*. This day occupies the 26th place [leaving the Atirâtra day out of count] in the session, and does not therefore fail to represent the day of full or new-moon (*Parva*). Are the last two of the three *Abhiplavas* [of five days each in the first part of the session] repeated, in the second part ?, or are they not repeated ? Sauchivṛikshi says that they are not repeated, inasmuch as their repetition is nowhere prescribed, and the central day, which with its recitations usually occupies the middle place (*in sacrificial sessions*), does not take this central place in this session. But Gautama says that they are repeated. On this day of the session which is intended to secure a firm footing for the sacrificer, the priest will be engaged in performing what has already been accomplished. As regards the statement that the repetition of the *Abhiplava* days is not prescribed, it is true that it is nowhere prescribed, because their repetition is merely a mental work. As to the celebration of the day in a place other than the central place in the session, it is merely to represent by it the *Parva*-day [*i. e.*, the new or full-moon day with which it was once identical]. Also we have seen the celebration of the central day outside the central place, as for example in the session of thirteen days, [51] corresponding to a number of years. Prohibiting the recitation of twenty five-verses, he has enjoined the recitation of nine verses on the first day ; for it is prescribed for a known day and the first day is a new initial day. Others say that the chant of twenty-four verses is merely a variety, and that it may be recited on the first day as usual. Accordingly the Brâhmaṇa says that these nights are intended to secure the year, and that these days of the session are exactly such as once constituted the year. Should he recite the Sâma-verses known as Ishôvṛidhîya and Samanta on the third *Abhiplava* days, or should he not ? They say that he should not recite them, for they are recited at the junction of *Abhiplava* and *Prishṭhya* days (*at the end of a month*) ; and here in the session of thirty-three days, there are observed no *Prishṭhya* days. Others say that they are to be recited because they are intended to signify the continuous succession of various *Parva*-days, and because the succession of several (*ahargaṇa*

[51] *Atirâtra* day ...	1
Six *Prishṭhya* days ...	6
The central day with its recitations ...	1
Four *Chandôma* days ...	4
A final *Atirâtra* day ...	1
	13 days

Kṛishṇa-Yajurvêda, VII, 33.

means a total sum of days) or of a one single day and is intended to signify various *Parva*-days (*that had already passed*). Thus it is that the manifold functions of several years are inseparably brought into a connected whole."

Again, after discussing the necessity of reciting or not reciting the Sâma-Verses known as Yaṇva, Apatya, and Śikvaravarṇa, on the *Abhiplava* days forming part of the session of thirty-three days ; the author of the Nidâna-Sûtra says ;—

अथाप्येवं संप्राप्योऽयं भूयस्सांवत्सरिकं द्रव्यमनुगृह्यत इति.

X, 3.

"Thus it (*the year or era*) is to be attained. The manifold functions of several years are thus brought into favourable consideration."

Again, in connection with the session of sixty-one days, the Nidâna.Sûtra says :—

अथैतदेकषष्ठिरात्रं संवत्सरसाम्मितास्थानमेव. तत्र नवाहमभितः पृष्ठ्यौ करोति. एवं सर्वं सांवसरिक द्रव्यमनुगृह्यत इति.

X, 4.

"Then the session of sixty-one nights symmetrically corresponds to *or* implies a series of years. In the arrangement of the days of this session, the period of nine days is followed and preceded by six *Prishṭhya* days. Thus all the functions of the years (*era*) are brought into consideration."

From the statement that the 12 or 36 years of the Tapaśchits cover so great a period of time that no man in his life-time can hold a sessional sacrifice during it, and from the statement that the sessional days represent various full or new-moon days and thereby imply a series of years, we can clearly understand that the Gavâm-Ayana and other sacrificial sessions are all based upon different systems of intercalary days. We have already seen that the two important units of intercalary days are the periods of 11 days and of 21 days. Accordingly the Nidâna-Sûtra says that at the end of each year the sacrificer should celebrate eleven days, so that all the days of the year are thereby represented, and that this process should be repeated again and again. The passage in which this idea is conveyed runs as follows :—

अथ केनासंस्तीर्णान्यभिविदधीते. अतिरात्रसत्रन्यायेनेत्याहुःयथा शतरात्रम्. अपि वा दशरात्रं व्रतं चांते निधाय यथा सांवत्सरिकाणामह्नां समवहारः सिध्येत् तथा कल्पं कल्पं कुर्वीत.

X, 5.

"Then how are the sessional days treated whose ritualistic arrangement is not known? They say that they are to be arranged following the principle of excessive nights constituting a session. Or else by celebrating at the close of the year ten days together with a Mahâvrata day, he should perform the sacrifice, so that all the days of the year are thereby recalled This process he should repeat again and again."

From this it is clear that the Vedic poets were celebrating 11 days at the end of each synodic lunar year of 354 days. From the Nidâna-Sûtra, X,5, quoted above, we have learnt that there were others who were celebrating 5 days at the close of each Sâvana year of 360 days. Again, from the same passage we can understand that the periods of 12 and 21 days were taken as different units of intercalary periods. It follows, therefore, that there were four schools of astronomers during the Vedic times ; a school who observed 11 days at the end of each synodic lunar year ; a second school who celebrated 5 days at the end of each Sâvana year ; a third school who observed 21 days, of course at the end of four consecutive Sâvana years ; and a fourth school who celebrated 12 days at the end of every fourth synodic

lunar year.[52] It is clear, therefore, that the statement made at the close of the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa, that 250 times 21 days denoted 1000 years for the Viśvasṛiks, is not a theoretical formula, but a result arrived at by regular counting made by successive generations of priests. Scholars may doubt the conclusion at which I have arrived in my *Vedic Era*, that the Vedic poets kept an era and counted 1840 years in it. But there is, at any rate, no reason to doubt that the Vedic poets had their own era and counted 1000 years in terms of 250 intercalary units of 21 days each. It remains to find out the *terminus a quo* of these 1,000 years and settle the chronology of the Vedic period.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ALAMKARA LITERATURE.

BY P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.B.; BOMBAY.

Section I.—The Development of the Alamkâraśâstra.

POETRY is as old as the human race. The oldest literary monuments possessed by mankind are poetical. Figures of speech are of rare occurrence in the most ancient writings; still even in the oldest of them, the simple figures of speech, such as simile and metaphor, are now and then met with. Without these two figures no language can far advance. As Carlyle has profoundly remarked, metaphor has exercised a vast influence in moulding the growth of languages.

The simple figures of speech are met with even in the Vedic literature.[1] This verse contains the figure *Atiśayokti*. But between this rare and rather unconscious employment of figures of speech and their elaborate definitions and classifications in later days, a vast period of time must have supervened. When a large mass of poetical material had grown up, speculation was naturally turned in the direction of laying down the canons of poetry and defining the ornaments of it. We shall briefly indicate the existence of secular poetical material before the Christian era and in the centuries that immediately followed it.

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[52] The Maitrâyaṇîya—Saṁhitā, however, refers to the existence of two more astronomical schools of a different kind. The Saṁhitâ calls them Ṛituyâjis and Châturmâsyayâjis. The passage in which they are referred to runs as follows:—

एकैकया वा आहुत्या द्वादश द्वादश रात्रीरयुवत· ता यावतीस्संख्याने तावतीस्संवत्सरस्य रात्रयः. संवत्सर_मेव भ्रातृव्याद्युवते· वैश्वदेवेन चतुरो मासानयुवत· वरुणप्रघासैः परांश्चतुरः साकमेधैः परांश्चतुरस्तानेव भ्रातृव्याद्युवत· ऋतुयाजी वा अन्यश्चातुर्मास्ययाज्यन्यो यो वसंतोऽभूत्प्रावृडभूच्छरदभूदिति यजते स ऋतुयाजी भय यस्त्रयोदशमासं संपादयात त्रयोदशमासमभियजते स चातुर्मास्ययाजी· ऋजून् त्रीनिष्ट्वा चतुर्थमुत्सृजेत ऋजू द्वौ परा इष्ट्वा तृतीयमुत्सृजेत· ये वै त्रयस्संवत्सरास्तेषां षट्त्रिंशत्पूर्णमासा यौ द्वौ तयोश्चतुर्विंशतिस्तद्योऽम षट्त्रिंशत्याधि तानस्यां चतुर्विंशत्यामुपसंपादयति· एष वाव स त्रयोदशो मासस्तमे वैतत्संपादयति तमभियजते.

Maitrayâṇîya-Saṁhita I, 10, 8.

With each oblation, he suppresses twelve and twelve nights. They (the oblations) are as many, when counted, as there are nights in the year. He suppresses the year from the enemy. With Vaiśvadevea sacrifice he suppresses four (intercalary months); with Varuṇapraghâsa the next four; and with Śâkamedha the next four. These are what he suppresses from the enemy. He who sacrifices for the seasons is a sacrificer of one kind, while he who sacrifices for a set of four months is a sacrificer of another kind. He who knows that what was the spring became the rains (which in turn became) the autumn (and so on), and who accordingly sacrificed for them,—this sacrificer is one who is called to be a sacrificer for the seasons. He who gains the thirteenth month and sacrificer for the thirteenth month is one who is said to be sacrificer for the four months. Having Sacrificed during three ordinary (Ṛijû) [months], he should omit the fourth. Then having sacrificed during (the next) two ordinary (months), he should omit the third. As to the three years there are, in them there are thirty-six full moons, as to the two, in them there are twnty-four. As to those (days) which except (an intercalary month) in the thirty-six full-moons, he takes them to these latter twenty-four months. This is verily the thirteenth month, He gains it and sacrifices for it.

[1] *Abhrâteva puṁsa eti pratîchî gartârug-iva sanaye dhanânâm* | *Jâyeva patya uśatî suvâsâ Ushâ hasreva ni riṇîte apsaḥ* || Ṛig. I. 124. 7. This verse contains four similes. *Dvâ suparṇâ sayujâ sakhâyâ samânaṁ vṛikshaṁ parishasvajâte* | *Tayoranyaḥ pippalaṁ svâdvattyanaśnann-anyo abhichâkaśîti* || Ṛig. I. 164. 20. This contains the figure Rûpaka. *Chatvâri śṛiṅgâ trayo asya pâdâ dve śîrshe sapta hastâso asya* | *Tridhâ baddho vṛishabho roravîti Maho devo martyânâ viveśa* || Ṛig. IV. 58. 3. This verse contains the figure Atiśayokti.

Pâṇini himself appears to have been a poet. We are told by Kshemendra in his *Suvṛitta-tilaka* that Pâṇini excelled in the Upajâti metre.[2] Namisâdhu, when commenting upon Rudraṭa's *Kâvyâlaṁkâra* tells us that Pâṇini composed a *Mahâkâvya* named *Pâtâlavijaya*.[3] He then quotes some words from that work, and gives a whole verse from Pâṇini.[4] The *Śârṅgadhara-paddhati* and the *Subhâshitâvali* both ascribe a number of verses to Pâṇini.[5] It is curious that many of the verses ascribed to Pâṇini in the above two anthologies as well as the verse quoted by Namisâdhu are in the *Upajâti* metre. Great caution is necessary in admitting the evidence of writers belonging to the 11th century A.D. with respect to Pâṇini who flourished at least fifteen hundred years earlier. It is possible that the poet Pâṇini may be quite distinct from the grammarian Pâṇini. But as long as no positive proof of this is forthcoming, we may provisionally say that Pâṇini, the grammarian, was also a poet, the more so because a number of critical writers like Kshemendra and Namisâdhu refer to him as such.[6]

The *Vârtikas* of Kâtyâyana furnish us with positive proof of the fact that the class of compositions known as *Âkhyâyikâs* was much in vogue in his day or even earlier.[7] Although the identity of Vararuchi and Kâtyâyana is not beyond the pale of discussion, still it is highly probable.[8] Patañjali speaks of a *Kâvya* composed by Vararuchi.[9] A number of verses are ascribed to Vararuchi in the *Subhâshitâvali*. So in the fourth century B.C. Sanskrit poems had been composed.

In the time of Patañjali (*i. e.*, 2nd century B.C.) poetical activity appears to have been very considerable. While commenting upon the *Vârtika* '*Lubâkhyâyikâbhyô bahulam*,' Patañjali mentions by name three works belonging to the *Âkhyâyikâ* class of composition, *viz.*, Vâsavadattâ Sumanottarâ and Bhaimarathî.[10] Patañjali seems also to refer to two poems dealing with the death of Kaṁsa and the humiliation of Bali.[11] Besides, the *Mahâbhâshya* contains a large number of quotations drawn from the works of poets and writers that were prior to him, some of which possess great beauty and historic interest. A few of the most interesting quotations are given below.[12]

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[2] *Spṛihaṇîyatva-charitaṁ Pâṇiner-Upajâtibhiḥ* | *Chamatkâraikasârâbhir=Udyânasyeva jâtibhiḥ* || *Suvṛitta* III. 30.

[3] *Tathâ hi Pâṇineḥ Pâtâlavijaye Mahâkâvye—'sandhyâvadhûṁ gṛihya kareṇa' ityatra gṛihyeti ktvo lyabâdeśaḥ* on Rudraṭa II. 8.

[4] *Tathâ tasy=aiva kaveḥ—'Gate 'rdharâtre parimandamandaṁ garjanti yat prâvṛishi kâlameghâḥ* | *apaśyat vatsaṁ=iv=endu-bimbaṁ tach-chharvarî gaur=iva huṁkaroti* || on Rudraṭa II. 8.

[5] See Prof. Peterson's Introduction to *Subhâshitâvali*, pp. 54-58. The verse '*Upôḍharâgeṇa vilolatârakam*,' *etc.*, occurs in the *Dhvanyâloka*, p. 35, and the verse '*Aindraṁ dhanuḥ pâṇḍupayodhareṇa*' occurs in the *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra* of Vâmana IV. 3·27 (under Âkshepa).

[6] As the poet Pâṇini in the two verses quoted by Namisâdhu on Rudraṭa II. 8. uses ungrammatical forms (पश्यती and गृह्य), it is almost certain that he cannot be the *grammarian* Pâṇini —D. R. B.

[7] *Vide* the *Vârtika* '*Lubâkhyâyikâbhyo bahulam*' on Pâṇini IV. 3.87.

[8] The *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* identifies the two:—'*Tasyâhaṁ Vasudattâyâṁ jâtaḥ Srutadharâbhidhaḥ* | *Kâtyâyano Vararuchiś-ch-ety-anvartha-kṛitâhvayaḥ*' || I. 2-15.

[9] '*Yat tena kṛitam na cha tena proktam Vâraruchaṁ kâvyam*' | *Mahâbhâshya* II. p. 315 (Kielhorn).

[10] '*Adhikṛitya kṛite granthe ity=atra akhâyikâbhyo bahulaṁ lub vaktavyaḥ* | *Vâsavadattâ Sumanottarâ* | *Na cha bhavati* | *Bhaimarathî*' | *M. B.*, Vol. II, p. 313.

[11] *Kaṁsavadham-âchashṭe Kaṁsaṁ ghâtayati Balibandham-âchashṭe Baliṁ bandhayati*, | *M. B.*, Vol. II. p. 34.

[12] *Asi-dvitîyo 'nusasâra Pâṇḍavam* | and *Saṁkarshaṇa-dvitîyasya balaṁ Kṛishṇasya vardhatâm* | Vol. I, p. 426; *Jaghâna Kaṁsaṁ kila Vâsudevaḥ* | Vol. II. p. 119; *Janârdanastvâtma-chaturtha eva* | Vol. III. p. 143.; *Priyâṁ mayûraḥ pratinarnṛitîti* | and *Yadvat-tvaṁ naravara narnṛitishi hṛishṭaḥ* | Vol. III. 338; *Âtmambhariś-charati yûtham-asevamânaḥ* | Vol. II. p. 102; *Bubhukshitaṁ na pratibhâti kiṁchit* | Vol. I. p. 444; *Â vanântâd-odakântât priyaṁ pântham=anuvrajet* | Vol. I. p. 340; *Kâlaḥ pachati bhutâni kâlah saṁharati prajâḥ* | Vol. II, p. 167; *Ksheme subhikshe kṛitasaṁchayâni purâṇi râjnâṁ vinayanti kopam* | Vol. II, p. 438; *eti jîvantam-ânando naraṁ varsha-śatâd api* | Vol. I, p. 277; *Varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭâḥ* | Vol. I, p 283. Of these '*eti*,' etc. occurs in *Râmâyaṇa Yuddha—kâṇḍa* (123.2.) where it is referred to as a popular verse (*laukikî gâthâ*). The last quotation is ascribed to Kumâradâsa, who might have been prompted by the same desire that produced the *Pârśvâbhyudaya*.

Next to Patañjali we may mention the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata*. Although the greatest divergence of opinion prevails as to the dates of these two epics, we shall not be far wrong if we say that the two epics date in their extant form from at least the beginning of the Christian era. Both of them contain here and there highly poetical passages. Many verses are quoted from the *Mahâbhârata* by writers on poetics, such as Ânandavardhana. The *Râmâyaṇa* specially abounds in elaborate descriptions and long-drawn metaphors. In this connection, the highly poetical description of the sea[13] in *Yuddha-kâṇḍa* (IV, 110 ff.), the imaginative description of the sky in *Sundara-kâṇḍa* (LVII, 1-4) and the elaborate *Rûpaka* in *Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa* (LIX, 28ff.) may be noted. The muse of such masters of classical Sanskrit as Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti drew her inspiration from the two epics. It is not an empty boast that the *Mahâbhârata* makes when it says that 'the imagination of the poets is fired by this best of *Itihâsa*' or that 'the best of poets depend upon this story.'[14] We find the *Daśarûpa* advising the authors of dramas to borrow their plots from the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Bṛihat-kathâ* and other works.[15]

Recent epigraphical researches have shown that in the first centuries of the Christian era, India produced highly elaborated Sanskrit prose as well as poetry. One of the inscriptions from Girnâr belonging to the 2nd century A.D., contains a piece of prose, which not only exhibits very long compounds, but also *Anuprâsa* and various kinds of *Upamâ* and *Rûpaka*. In that inscription *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman is praised as one "who forcibly destroyed all warriors who did not submit to him through pride caused by the fact that they were styled 'heroes' in the presence of all Kshatriyas"[16] and as one 'who obtained much fame by his mastery of the sciences of Grammar, Mîmâsâ, Music and Logic.'[17] In the same inscription a reference is made to 'prose and poetry which were full of figures of speech, which looked fine on account of containing poetic conventions and that were clear, to the point, pleasing, striking and charming.'[18] An inscription belonging to the 4th century A. D. contains a prose which rivals the style of Bâṇa[19] and in which king Samudragupta is praised as one "to whom the title 'Kavirâja' was applied on account of the composition of many *kâvyas* that were the source of inspiration to learned men.'"[20] In the same inscription Samudragupta's fame is compared to the white waters of the Ganges running quickly when freed from confinement in the matted hair of Śiva.[21]

From the foregoing statement it will be clear that in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era a vast mass of poetical material had been accumulated in Sanskrit for the cultivation of the science of poetics. We shall presently see that the elaboration of the canons of poetry and the figures of speech commenced with the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. The composition of new poems and the evolution of rules of poetry henceforward proceeded hand in hand.

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[13] '*Hasantam-iva phenaughair=nṛityantam=iva chormibhiḥ* | '*eti*.'

[14] '*Itihâsottamâd=asmâj=jâyante kavibuddhayaḥ* ı' *Âdi-Pr.* II, 385; '*Idaṁ kavi-varaiḥ sarvair=âkhyânam=upajîvyate* |' *Ibid.*, II. 389.

[15] *Ity=âdy=aśesham=iha vastu-vibheda-jâtâṁ Râmâyaṇâdi cha vibhâvya Bṛihatkathâṁ cha* | *Âsûtrayet=tad-anu netṛi-rasânuguṇyât* ı *chitrâṁ kathâṁ=uchita—châru-vachaḥ-prapañchaiḥ* || I, 61.

[16] '*Sarvakshatrâvishkrita-vîra-śabdajâtotsekâvidheyânâṁ Yaudheyânâṁ prasahyotsâdakena*'—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. viii, p. 44.

[17] *Śabdârtha-Gândharvva-Nyây-âdyânâṁ vidyânâṁ mahatînâṁ pâraṇa-dhâraṇa-vijñâna-prayogâvâpta-vipula kîrtinâ*—l. 13.

[18] *Sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitra-kânta-śabdasamayôdâr-âlaṁkriṭa-gadya-padya-* . . . . (*the rest is destroyed*)—l. 14.

[19] *Kṛipaṇa-dîn-ânâth-âtura-janoddharaṇa-sa(ma)ntra-dîksh-âdy-upagata-manasaḥ samiddhasya vigrahavato lokânugrahasya Dhanada-Varuṇa-Indra-Antaka-samasya sva-bhuja-bala-vijita-âneka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarppaṇa-nitya-vyâpṛit-âyukta-purushasya*—Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 8, l. 26.

[20] *Vidvaj-janopajîvy-âneka-kâvya-kriyâbhiḥ pratishṭhita-kavirâja-śabdasya*, l. 27.

[21] (*Yaśaḥ* |) *Punâti bhuvana-trayaṁ Paśupater-jjaṭ-ântar-guhâ-nirôdha-parimoksha-śîghram-iva pâṇḍu Gâṅgaṁ payaḥ*, || l. 31.

The earliest extant definition of any figure of speech is perhaps that of *Upamâ* (simile) contained in the *Nirukta* of Yâska.[22] This definition of *Upamâ* is as good as that of Mammaṭa's, *viz*, *Sâdharmyam= Upamâ bhede*. It is a general rule that the *Upamâna* (standard of comparison) should be more well-known and possess more qualities than the *Upameya* (object of comparison) and it is a blemish if the *Upamâna* is much inferior to the *Upameya*. Yâska refers to the general rule in the footnote in the words '*jyâyasâ*, etc.' and points out that in the Vedas the *Upamâna* is often much inferior to the *Upameya*. He instances *Ṛigveda* X. 4. 6, in which the Aśvins are compared to thieves.[23]

Pâṇini often refers to *Upamâna*, *Upameya* and *Sâmânya* (common property or ground of comparison).[24]

In the *Vedânta-sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa we find that *Upamâ* and *Rûpaka* (metaphor) are mentioned by name.[25]

In the *Nâṭya-Śâstra* of Bharata we are told that there are only four ornaments of poetry, *viz.*, *Upamâ*, *Rûpaka*, *Dîpaka* and *Yamaka*.[26] We shall see later on when we come to the chronology of *Alaṁkâra* writers that Bharata's work cannot, at all events, be placed later than 500 A.D.

The *Buddha-charita* of Aśvaghosha appears to have been written at a time when some theory of poetics must have been already in existence. Each canto has at the end of it a verse or verses in a metre other than the prevailing one. The author everywhere makes frantic efforts at a jingle of words; gives us such examples of alliteration as *Hari-turaga-turaṅgavat=turaṅgaḥ* (V. 87.); and is very fond of the figure *Yathâsaṁkhya*.[27] The *Buddha-charita* must have been written not later than the 5th century of the Christian era, as it was translated into Chinese in the 5th century A.D. and into Tibetan in the 7th or 8th century (Preface, p. v).

Subandhu in his *Vâsavadattâ* has a number of allusions to an art of Poetry and to the figures of speech. He boasts of his skill in employing a *Ślesha* (pun, *paronomasia*) in each letter.[28] He speaks of the soul of poetry; of the composition of an excellent poet in which the expletives *tu* and *hi* do not occur and which is divided into sections called '*Uchchhvâsas*' and skilfully employs *Ślesha* (pun) and the metre called *Vaktra*;[29] and of the figures *Śṛiṅkhalâ-bandha* (of words), *Utprekshâ* and *Âkshepa*.[30] Subandhu is not later than the 6th century A.D., as he (p. 331) is quoted by Vâmana in his *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra-vṛitti* (I. 3. 25) with very slight variations and is referred to by Bâṇa in the introduction to his *Harshacharita*. So, long before the 6th century A.D. such figures as *Ślesha*, *Âkshepa*, *Utprekshâ*, *Śṛiṅkhalâbandha* had been named and defined.

In the days of Bâṇa rhetoric appears to have made great strides. In the *Kâdambarî* he speaks of such puzzles as the *Aksharachyutaka*, *Mâtrâchyutaka*, *Bindumatî*, and *Prahelikâ*. Bâṇa knows the difference between *Kathâ* and *Âkhyâyikâ*. He speaks of writers of *Âkhyâyikâs* which were divided into *Uchchhvâsas* and contained *Vaktra* metres here and there.[31] He speaks of a number

[22] *Ath-âta=Upamâ yad=atat tat-sadṛiśam=iti Gârgyas=tad=âsâṁ karma jyâyasâ vâ guṇena prakhyâtatamena vâ kanîyâṁsaṁ vâ prakhyâtaṁ vâ upamimîte,athâpi kanîyasâ jyâyâṁsam* | *Nirukta* III.

[23] *Tanûtyajeva taskarâ vanargû raśanâbhir daśabhir=abhyadhîtâm* |.

[24] Mark the following *Sûtras* of Pâṇini :—*Upamânâni Sâmânya-vachanaiḥ* (II. 1.55); *Upamitaṁ vyâghrâdibhiḥ sâmânyâprayôge* (II. 1.56).

[25] *Ânumânikam=apy=ekeshâṁ Śarîra-rûpaka-vinyasta-gṛihîter=darśayati cha* || (I. 4. 1); *Ata=eva ch-opamâ Sûryakâdivat* (III. 2.18.).

[26] *Upamâ dîpakaṁ ch=aiva rûpakaṁ yamakaṁ tathâ* | *Kâvyasy=aite hy=alaṁkârâś=chatvâraḥ parikîrtitâḥ* || *Nâṭya-śâstra* (16.41).

[27] For example, V. 42; IX. 16.

[28] *Pratyakshara-ślesha-maya-prabandha-vinyâsa-vaidagdhya-nidhir=nibandham* |

[29] *Agraheṇ=âpi kâvyajîvajñena* (p. 129, *Vâṇi-vilâsa Sanskrit series*); *sat-kavi-kâvya-bandha iv=ânavabaddha-tu-hi-nipâtaḥ* (p. 158); *Dîrghôchchhvâsa-rachan-âkulaṁ suślesha-vaktra-ghaṭanâ-paṭu sat-kâvya-virachanam=iva* (p. 238).

[30] *Śṛiṅkhalâbandho varṇagrathanâsu Utpreksh-Âkshepau Kâvyâlaṁkâreshu* (p. 146).

[31] *Uchchhvâsântes py=akhinnâ ye vaktre yeshâṁ Sarasvatî* | *Katham-Âkhyâyikâkârâ na te vandyâḥ kavîśvarâḥ* || ;—*Harshacharita*.

of figures of speech such as *Upamâ*, *Dîpaka*, *Ślesha*, *Jâti* (or *Svabhâvokti*), *Utprekshâ*,[32] *etc.* We know that Bâṇa lived in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

The *Bhâṭṭikâvya* devotes four sargas (10-13) to the illustration of topics that rightly belong to the art of poetry. The author gives examples of two *Alaṁkâras* of word, *viz.*, *Anuprâsa* and *Yamaka* and of thirty-six *Alaṁkâras* of Sense. He must have had before him some work defining the figures of speech. He tells us that he lived under king Dharasena of Valabhi. We know four Valabhi kings who bore the name Dharasena. Therefore Bhaṭṭi must have flourished at some time between about 500 and 650 A.D., the dates of the first and the fourth Dharasenas.

In this section we have tried to prove that the simple figures of speech, such as *Upamâ* and *Rûpaka*, were named and defined long before the Christian era and that the centuries immediately following that era witnessed the evolution of a number of figures of speech. From the 7th century onwards we have a host of writers on the *Alaṁkâra-Śâstra*, whose dates can be obtained with great exactness.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

INDIAN AND CEYLONESE BRONZES.

The six fine bronzes from the Tinnevelly District, Madras, exhibited in the Indian Court at the Festival of Empire, 1911 (case 69, Nos. 438-443) by Lord Ampthill throw light on the origin of the remarkable set of similar images found in 1907 and 1908 by the Archæological Survey, Ceylon, in a trench outside the Śiva Dewâlê at Polonnâruwa.[33] Those images evidently belonged to the Śaiva temple, which is absurdly known as the *Daḷadâ Mâligâwa*, or 'Shrine of the Tooth Relic,' and had been hidden in the ground outside on the occasion of some revolution (*Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 51, note 2). They have been fully described by the Honourable Mr. P. Arunachalam in *Spolia Zeylanica*, Sept. 1909, and selections from the find have been published by Dr. Coomaraswamy and the writer of this note. They are heavy, massive castings, the largest being three feet high, and the best are of high artistic quality. Lord Ampthill's set is exactly similar to the Ceylonese images and, like the Polonnâruwa find, includes a spirited Dancing Śiva (Naṭarâja) and figures of Tamil saints.

When the Ceylonese bronzes were discovered the question naturally arose whether they had been executed in the island or on the mainland. Dr. A. Willey, F. R. S., sometime Director of the Colombo Museum, declared that 'they are Polonnâruwa bronzes for better or for worse, and certainly not imported from India, but unfortunately did not assign reasons for his strongly expressed opinion. On the other hand, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the experienced Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, is convinced that the Polonnâruwa bronzes came from India. The discovery of Lord Ampthill's set in the Tinnevelly District strongly confirms Mr. Bell's view, and it may well be that the Polonnâruwa castings were produced in that district. The Śaiva religion is a Tamil importation into Ceylon, and it is antecedently more probable that costly and artistic Śaiva images should have been made on the mainland rather than in the Buddhist island.

V. A. S.

BOOK-NOTICE.

TA-T'ANG-HSI-YU-CHI. Original text, with preface and variants collected from ancient manuscripts and modern texts. two Vols. in Japanese and Chinese characters. College of Literature, Imperial University, Kyoto, Japan.

Two small, but very well printed and nicely bound volumes contain the original ancient text of the *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-yu-chi* or in Japanese, the *Tai-To-Sai-iki-ki*, being the first publication of the Faculty of Letters in the Imperial University of Kyoto. The work is in two parts, the first containing the text with a preface in Japanese, and the other all the variants, which the Editors have been able to find from the collation of the oldest MSS., which exist in the ancient monasteries of Japan, with text already published up-to-date in China, Corea, and Japan. The second volume contains identification of personal and place names by Beal, Julien and Watters. The object of the work is to preserve this ancient text. We congratulate the University on the appearance of what the Editors call "this modest fruit of our labour."

R. C. TEMPLE.

[32] *Haranti kaṁ n=ojjvala-Dîpak-Opamair=navaiḥ padârthair=upapâditâḥ kathâḥ | Nirantara-Ślesha-ghanâḥ sujâtayo mahâsrajaś=champaka-pushpakair=iva* || :—*Kâdambarî.*

[33] Three of Lord Ampthill's bronzes have been reproduced by the Indian Society in *Eleven Plates representing works of Indian Sculpture, chiefly in English collections* (Griggs and Sons, for 1911).

THE CASTES IN INDIA.

BY E. SENART OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Translated in part from the French)

BY REV. A. HEGGLIN, S. J.; BOMBAY.

(Continued from p. 114.)

V.—Genesis of the Indian Caste.

WE are approaching the knotty point of this research. The similarities which I have recorded have been, for the most part, already recognized and noted. They are only examples—indications. Their number could be easily enlarged. The essential thing is to weigh their signification.

Every evidence is leading us back to the old family constitution; the true name of caste is *jâti* which means 'race'. However, we must state the matter more exactly. The family was not the only social organism, at the time when the Aryans of India went apart to follow their own destinies. It was comprised in larger corporations: the clan, the tribe. Their existence is certain, though the facts, variable and vague, are not easily brought under strict definitions.

Discussions have been going on, and this rather in a confused way, on the reciprocal relation of the different groups, on the order in which they have been formed. One thing at least is clear. These concentrical circles which include an area ever widening are conceived in the Aryan world after one and the same type. Thus it could be held that the clan and the tribe, whatever their names be in the different countries, are only the enlargement of the family; they copy its organization while extending it.[54] Their genealogy, in reality, concerns us little. The fact is, that their respective constitution is strictly analogous. In speaking of the family constitution I have the constitution of the tribe and of the clan equally in view.

The terms, here in use, agree very well; *gens, curia, tribus*, in Rome; family, *phratria, phyle*, in Greece; family, *gotra*, caste, in India. It is the more instructive, because, in the origin, if we judge it by all analogies, the most essential difference between clan and tribe, as between section and caste, amounts to this, that the group which is more restricted, is exogamic; the group which is larger, endogamic. The political organization, at the pretty late time in which the classical countries are well known to us, has only shaken, or displaced certain customs; and for instance, in the case of the endogamic law, replaced the one tribe by the whole of the city. What is surprising is to find that the directing principles, on both sides, have survived, in so visible traces, the separation—which, therefore, must be very old—of the ethnical branches in which we follow severally their destinies.

If the caste covers exactly the whole domain of the old gentile right, this can be neither a fortuitous agreement nor a modern resurrection. Still less is it due to chance that its practices have exact relations with the primitive notions and continue their spirit. The whole is complete, well connected, closely soldered with the past and that in a matter which supremely rules life and the most private concerns. It, therefore, is an organic institution which draws its sap from very deep sources.

The guilds of the middle ages remind us, by more than one custom, of the known traits of ancient organization. Who would dare to assert that they are their direct heirs? Customs, which under the sway of new ideas and a complete moral revolution, could only have survived by losing in the public consciousness, their signification and their proper life, may have found their way into them again through more or less obscure windings; I am willing to admit that the patronage of a saint is the reflection of the eponymism of the antique heroes, that the repast which, on certain

[54] Hearn, p. 136 ss.; *Leist Alter. jus. civ*, p. 45; 82-3.

feast-days, united their members, may be a remembrance of the family repast; but with all that there exists apparently no continued transmission from one type to the other, no immediate filiation. Nothing in the guilds corresponds to the solid cohesion of a family corporation. They are not only open to every new-comer, if he but fulfils the requisite condition, they impose no fetter upon the civil and private life of their members. The resemblances are, in some way, accidental and fragmentary. It is likely that the repasts at which, in our country districts, even nowadays, the relatives and friends of the departed person meet after a burial, are not without connexion with the funeral repasts of antiquity. What does it matter, if in this long way, the custom has lost its original meaning?

Of quite another order is the relationship which connects the caste with the ancient system of the family community. There is from the one to the other a real continuity, a direct transmission of life.

Does this mean that India has simply preserved a primitive type of the Aryan constitution? Such, assuredly, is not my thought. The premises being the same, if caste could spring from them in India, there sprang up quite a different regime in the classical countries. But caste has remained thoroughly impregnated with notions which fasten it to the Aryan background. How could they fail to expand into an original institution, under the unique conditions in which they happened to be transplanted on the soil of India? Their physiognomy has been so much altered, as to render the more primitive types at first unrecognizable in the caste; it is, nevertheless, their legitimate heir. But we have done nothing, as long as we have not laid hold of the mechanism which brought about this transformation.

The Vedic hymns are too little explicit on the details of exterior and social life. But, at least, we notice in them, that the Aryan population was divided in a number of tribes or peoples (*janas*), subdivided into clans united by ties of relationship (*viças*), which again were broken up into families.

The terminology of the *Ṛig-Veda* is, in this regard, pretty vague; the general fact is clear.[55] *Sajâta*, *i.e.*, relative, or 'companion of *jâti*,' of race, appears in the Atharva-Veda to designate the companions of clan (*viç*). *Jana*, which assumes a wider signification, reminds us of the Avestic equivalent of clan, the *Zantu* and of the *jâti*, or the caste. A series of terms, *vrâ*, *vrijana*, *vrâja*, *vrâta*, seem to be synonyms or sub-divisions, it may be, of the clan, or of the people. The Aryan population, therefore, lived at the time to which the hymns belong, under an organization which was ruled by the traditions of the tribe and of lower or similar groupings. Even the variety of the names indicates that this organization was rather floating; hence it was the more pliable to adapt itself to the definite forms into which the circumstances in India chanced to model them.

It is easy to discern several of the factors, which have contributed, each on its part, to push it into the road on which it has been developed.

The life of the invaders necessarily remained, in the course of their slow conquest, if not nomadic, at least very unstable. There are tribes, the wanderings of which we can follow. This mobility was very unfavourable to the organization of a political rule, but very favourable for the maintenance of old institutions. The hazards of local strife, moreover, could not fail to re-act on the condition of the hordes. In many cases they were dislocated.

Whilst guarding the tradition of inherited customs, the fragments were reconstituted under the action of new necessities and of new interests, topographical, or others. The exclusive rigidity of the genealogical bond had thus to suffer some harm. The door was half opened to variable principles of grouping.

[55] *Cf.* Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 158 ss.

The population in the East has rarely that degree of fixity to which we have been accustomed by the experience of the West. In this matter the absence of a strongly established state is in succession cause and effect. India has preserved, down to our days, something of this mobility. At all times, towns have been an exception there. It is natural that we scarcely get traces of them in an ancient period. Even later the large capitals which were founded in India, had no strong roots ; they have often lived an ephemeral existence.

The village, the *grâma*, from the Vedic hymns down to this time, has been almost the only framework of Hindu life. As it appears in the hymns, it is rather pastoral, than agricultural. Synonyms, as *vrijana*, which cannot be separated from *vraja*, ' pasturage,' conjure up the same images. And likewise *gotra*. The word is not used in the *Rig-Veda*, except in its etymological sense of 'stable'. If yet we find it afterwards regularly denoting the eponym clan, this use is, without doubt, ancient. The *Rig-Veda* makes no allusion to it ; this simply proves once more what, perilous illusion it is to draw positive conclusions from the silence of the hymns. This application of the word, however, is only justified by an intermediate stage. Very near to *vrijana* by its primitive meaning, it must have passed through an analogous evolution ; it, too, must have been a synonym, at least an approximate one, of *grâma* or village.

The Hindu village has an altogether autonomous life. In several countries, it is actually a corporation, and its territory common property : an organization which has given rise to frequent parallels with the village communities of the Slavs. Some have been led to look upon the village as the equivalent of the primitive clan ; under a more fixed form it would have perpetuated the community of blood, the community of goods and jurisdiction. I do not decide, whether the village communities are of ancient origin everywhere in India, whether they have not in many cases and under the sway of special conditions accidentally reconstructed a primitive social type. They, at least, are witness to a powerful tradition of corporative life. Similarly, there reigns over a vast region, the system of those family communities (*joint family*), where several generations remain grouped without division and under a patriarchal authority. The Indian mind is stubbornly conservative of old institutions. This is not all. I have spoken of those Russian villages, where the community of property and the living together on the same soil have had as their result the professional community. The same fact has happened in India, too. This cannot be doubted, when we think of the numerous villages of potmakers, of leather-dressers, of smiths, to which literature, especially Buddhist literature, makes so frequent allusions. The community of profession could the better propagate in this way, if a bond of consanguinity originally united the members of the village. Now Brahmin villages are always mentioned. Parentage, therefore, influenced the groupings, at least often ; for, certainly for the Brahmins, parentage was the essential tie, not identity of profession ; they lived far less on their ritual functions, than on agricultural and, especially, pastoral industry. This does not stand in the way that their example should nevertheless, through a superficial analogy, favour round them the community of profession in less noble and less respected groups.

The mass of Aryan immigrants, therefore, settled in closed villages, ruled more or less, by a notion of real or supposed parentage, in any case forming a corporation in which the clan survived in a modified frame. The more general this organization was, the more, also, was it sure to countenance an equivalent constitution for the bodies of the tradesmen themselves. Little numerous and little specialised in the pastoral life, these were called to a necessary growth by the economical development and the advance of culture. The representatives of the mechanic professions, necessarily scattered amongst the people who claimed their services, could not, in the midst of a universally corporative organization, be assured of a tolerable existence, unless adapting themselves to the common type.

It is here that the religious ideas intervene.

Scruples of purity did not allow the inhabitants of the Aryan villages to pursue certain professions nor even to receive, in their communion, compatriots who were pursuing them. Amongst these excluded, the same niceties, establishing a scale of impurity between different trades, were tending to multiply the partitions. The religious sentiment made them the more insuperable, the more carefully it was fostered. The Brahminic theocracy provided this with an energy and a perseverance that are unique. In admitting that the priestly class, at first, has not established the absolute formulas of its dominion without some protest, it certainly has early laid their foundation. From the highest periods of literature its pretensions are set forth in exalted terms.

The hierarchy of the classes could not create all-anew the *regime* of the castes,—this is derived from a more spontaneous division and corresponds to a partition into much smaller groups—it could help it on. It had given the example and spread the custom of a division, which, if larger, was in certain respects, scarcely less rigid. It had, especially, two indirect consequences: by the domination which it granted to the Brahmins, it preserved for religious scruples a rigidity which re-echoed in the severity of the caste rules; it served as a basis to that hierarchy which has become an integral part of the system and facilitated its establishment by lending singular strength to the notions of purity which, on the whole, state the degrees of social rank.

If the triumphant theocracy fixed the *regime* of the caste in its systematic form, the caste borrowed its cause of existence and the mechanism of its genesis directly from the very elements in which this theocracy itself originated. Thus the scale of castes, determined, or at least inspired by the Brahmins and maintained by them, could take the place of the more ancient state; the less precise organization of the classes was absorbed into the new *regime.*

In classical antiquity the slow fusion of the classes is, at the same time, the stimulant and the result of the civil and political idea which is springing up. In India the theocratic power puts a stop to any such evolution. India has risen neither to the idea of the state, nor to the idea of the fatherland. Instead of extending, the frame is contracting. In the republics of antiquity the notion of classes has a tendency to melt into the wider idea of the city; in India it asserts and tends to confine itself in the narrow partitions of the caste. Let us not forget that the Aryan immigrants were spreading in India over an immense area; groupings too widely scattered were doomed to crumble. From this circumstance the particularistic inclinations were drawing an increase of strength.

I cannot persuade myself that the caste has sprung from the autochthonous tribe. Its *regmei* has been too keenly patronised by the Brahmins; they raised it to the height of a dogma. To all its constituent elements the other Aryan branches offer striking analogies, some of them all the more decisive, as the similarity is not so prominent in the outward aspect as in the affinity of leading ideas. When aboriginal tribes enter the Brahminical frame, and however apt their rather unsettled organization might make them to fit new exigencies, we see how they are forced in the passage, to submit to many a touching-up. For a long time they keep their mark of origin. One may discern persevering in them more than one element of foreign origin, which is a little jarring on the whole, for instance, the clans with a *totem*. How can we believe that the Brahmins should have borrowed from the vanquished population for whom they never ceased to manifest the most humiliating contempt, the complicated rules of purity in the name of which they show themselves so particular both as to food and as to personal intercourse? That they should have so willingly appropriated a social organization not spontaneously sprung from traditions of their own?

It, sometimes, has been too easily granted that the natives were by themselves in possession of this whole system.[54] They could, by origin, possess certain of its features; still it is

[54] Nesfield, § 189.

necessary not to forget, that we are here exposed to more than one misunderstanding. The imitation of the Brahminical rules has filtered through even into populations which have, otherwise, remained very barbarous. They show a very strong inclination towards adopting them. Whilst keeping the least orthodox customs, they endeavour to obtain a clergy of Brahmins, which is very much despised for the help it gives them, and very disdainful itself towards its sheep, but the patronage of which they hold in high esteem, in spite of all.[55] The Brahminical marriage rite has been implanted even in tribes, which do not call Brahmins to their ceremonies.[56] So very low a caste, as the Ramushis,[57] in which the exogamic limit is marked by the *totem*, has, nevertheless, borrowed from the Brahmins not only its genealogical legend, but also the prohibition of the marriage of widows. To ascribe to the aborigines the fathership of such restrictions is to upset the terms. In the primitive stages organization and custom look easily alike from one race to the other: the social mechanism is too rudimentary to be much diversified. We have carefully to be on our guard, lest we take late borrowings for an inherited good.

Everything, however, induces us to anticipate that the vicinity, the intermixture of the aborigines has not been without some influence upon the establishment of the caste, an indirect influence it may be, but a strong one. The collision of the Aryans with populations which they despised for their colour and their barbarity, could not but enhance in them the pride of race, strengthen their innate scruples with regard to degrading contacts, double the rigour of the endogamic laws, in a word, favour all the usages and all the inclinations which led to the caste. Among these I want to include that spirit of exclusiveness and hierarchy which crowns the system, and which properly transfers it from the family ground into the social and semi-political domain.

Too numerous to be entirely turned into slaves, the ancient masters of the soil had to submit to the ascendancy of the more gifted conquerors; but even there, where they completely lost their independence, they preserved, in the main, their native organization. Enveloped in a sort of transformation, rather than reduced by a centralized power, they certainly contributed to maintain, in the whole of the country, this so peculiar character of instability and fluctuation. The tribes continued jostling each other, as so many half-autonomous little nationalities. The aboriginal population, thus opposed to the formation of an organised political *regime*, an enormous obstacle which has never been surmounted; by its examples it served the cause of archaic institutions; in every way it thus favoured the upkeeping of the social condition under which the conqueror had first pushed on his expansion.

Later on, the mixture of the two races could not but act in the same direction; it lent the strength of habits and of hereditary instincts to these precedents. Did not the old frame become stronger in proportion as the doors of Hinduism opened by and by to a greater number of new-comers? Although modified into a system of castes under the impulse of special conditions, which I am endeavouring to set forth, the tribal organism remains in their respective state of culture, a rather natural meeting point for both the conquerors and the conquered.

Nowhere in antiquity have the Aryans shown much taste for the manual professions. The Greeks and the Romans left them to the slaves, or to intermediate classes, freed men and simple domiciled. Settled in villages, that first followed entirely pastoral pursuits, the Aryans were in India still less induced, than elsewhere, to take to manual professions. These had, in general, to remain, the allotment, either of the aborigines or of populations, which their hybrid, or suspected origin, relegated to the same level.

55 Ibbetson, pp. 153-4.

56 Ibbetson, § 295.

57 *Poona Gazetteer*, I. pp. 410, 423.

In becoming trades-people, both brought with them their traditions and the desire of assimilating themselves to the analogous organization of the superior race. The fear of defilement closed a number of professions to the Aryans; this fear was penetrating and became generalized in this inferior population under the religious influence of the immigrants and their priests. It could not fail to multiply amongst them small divisions, scaled after the degree of reputed impurity ascribed to their occupations; this is the very thing which happens still now before our eyes. Thus the aborigines, too numerous to fall individually, at least as a general rule, into the condition of domestic slaves, and confined by the circumstances to the manual professions, were led, both by their own tradition and by the ideas which they received from the Aryan influence, to unite in new groupings of which profession appeared to be the bond.

This movement accentuated and completed the parallel movement, which, under different conditions, though under the sway of several common ideas, must, as we have seen, have arisen amongst the Aryans themselves. On neither side was community of profession, the principle of aggregation; we see how it could assume this appearance not only for us, but little by little, even in the eyes of the Hindus. It is useless to add that, when come to this point in the age of secondary formations, when the wear and tear of evolution obliterates the oldest ideas and the first motive powers, or is dulling their consciousness, a deceitful analogy could really develop it into an autonomous factor of grouping. But that was only the last terminus of a long course; it had sprung from quite different sources.

Outside the natural action of exterior social or historical elements, we must take into account moral agents, primitive inclinations, and essential beliefs. Unhappily, springs of so subtle a nature and of a continuous, but not well determined influence, cannot be easily set forth.

I have touched some of them by the way. The Hindu mind is very religious and very speculative; an obstinate guardian of traditions, it is singularly insensible to the joys of action and to the solicitations of material progress. It offered a ground predestined for a social organization, made of very archaic elements, which would pay obedience to an overpowerful priestly authority, and which consecrated immutability as a duty and the established hierarchy as a natural law.

This *regime* especially fits in a striking way with the most popular, perhaps, the most characteristic, and certainly the most permanent, of the dogmas, that rule the religious life of India, with transmigration. The immobility of the frames, within which caste confines life, justifies and explains itself by a doctrine, which is founding the terrestrial condition of each one upon the balance of his anterior actions, good and bad. The destiny of each man is fixed by the past; it must, in the present, be determined and immovable. The scale of social ranks faithfully corresponds to the infinite scale of moral merits and moral deficiency.

All, or almost all sects, sprung from Hinduism, have accepted metempsychosis as a certitude that admits of no discussion; all, or almost all have accepted caste without revolt. Buddhism makes, from the standpoint of religious profession, no difference between the castes. All are admitted without difficulty, and without distinction into the body of monks, all are called to salvation. Logically these premises ought to end with the suppression of castes. But it is not so. The direct polemic arises only slowly and then—for instance in a book entirely devoted to this subject, in the *Vajrasûchî*—it takes the special form of an attack levelled against the privileges of the class of the Brahmins. It is a strife for influence between two rival clergies, not a systematic protestation against a *régime* without which even the Buddhists did not conceive the social existence.

Several ascetical sects, likewise, suppress caste practically; they admit and bring together, without reserve, all postulants in their religious order. With several this equality is symbolized at the consecration of the adepts, by the solemn destruction of the sacred chord. How could the

suppression of every family-tie and the renunciation of the world be better expressed ? This is the equivalent of those funeral ceremonies which, as I have said, signalize the exclusion from the caste. And though, what they aim at is, not to overthrow a system which is the very foundation of the national life, but to create, in the interior of this immense circle, a more or less extended group of saints, who escape from the world and break all its ties. For the mass of the adherents, caste subsists uncontested; in a number of cases the new community of faith operates as a lever for the creation of new sections.

We are no longer in those times in which it could be allowed to represent Buddhism or Jainism as attempts of a social reform directed against the *regime* of the castes.[58] The illogical resignation, with which they have submitted to it, shows, on the contrary, how at the period of their foundation, it was deeply rooted in the Hindu conscience, wedded to those beliefs, those elementary notions, as the doctrine of moral merit, of metempsychosis, of final liberation, the inheritance of which they received without protest.

VI.—General Survey, Caste and the Indian Mind.

For a long time it has been believed, on the testimony of Plato and Herodot, that Egypt had been ruled by the system of castes. This view has now been given up by the best authorized judges. It appears that it is decidedly contradicted by the indigenous monuments. The Greeks, little accustomed to vast hereditary organisms tied together by the privilege of rank, or the community of occupation, could easily exaggerate their importance, or their extent, where they met with their more or less strict types. Up to the present, India alone has shown a universal system of castes, in the sense in which we have stated and defined. At best, one may find elsewhere accidental traces, germs of analogous institutions ; they are nowhere generalised, or arranged in a system.

Greece has known, in Lacedaemon and elsewhere, several cases of hereditary functions and trades. Notwithstanding the uncertainties which obscure their interpretation, the names borne by the four Ionian tribes (*phyle*) of Attica, are really professional names: soldiers, goatherds, artisans.[59] These are assuredly no castes. The example, at least, proves that the Aryan tradition could, under the influence of a favourable situation, incline towards caste. It is good to retain this lesson. A social fact, which sways an immense country, which is wound up with its whole past, has necessarily more than one cause. If we mean to confine it in one single too precise deduction, we are sure to go astray. Currents so powerful are formed of numerous affluents. The true explanation, I am convinced of it, must assign its part to each one of the agents, which, one after the other, have been pushed to the front in too systematic and too exclusive a spirit. There have been many other countries in which an immigrant race has found itself in juxtaposition with occupants, whom it has vanquished and dispossessed, and this situation has not given there rise to caste. Other populations have known strong distinctions of class, and caste has remained unknown to them. Theocracy has grown in other grounds also. The *regime* must therefore in India result from the combined action of several factors. I hope that I have discerned the principal ones. Let us endeavour to take in, with one glance, the epitome of this history.

We take the Aryans at their entry in India. They live under the sway of old laws, common to all the branches of the race. They are divided into tribes, clans and families, more or less large; the groups are equally governed by a corporative organization, the general features of which are identical with all, the bond of which is consanguinity more and more

[58] Cf. Oldenberg, *Le Bouddha*, French transl., Foucher, p. 155. ff.

[59] Schömann, Griech. *Alterth. ed.* 1861, I. p. 327 ss.

narrowing down. The age of pure and simple equality between clan and clan, tribe and tribe, is gone. Military prestige and priestly prestige have commenced their work. Certain groups, raised by the splendour of warrior powers, proud of a more brilliant or better ascertained descent, enriched, more than others, by the fortune of arms, have joined together in a class of nobility which is claiming the power. The religious rites have become complicated so as to require a special ability and a technical preparation, both for the carrying out of the ceremonies and for the composition of chants ; a priestly class has arisen, which bases its pretensions upon, more or less, legendary genealogies, connecting its branches with illustrious sacrificers of the past. The rest of the Aryans are mixed up in a single category, within which the different groups move with autonomy, and according to their corporative laws. Religious notions rule the whole life from the beginning; priesthood, already powerful, is here increasing the prestige and vigour of the religious scruples.

The Aryans are advancing in their new dominion. They come into collision with a dark-coloured race, inferior in culture, which they drive back. This opposition, the care for their security, the contempt of the vanquished: enhance in the conquerors the inborn exclusivism, exalt all belief and all prejudices, that protect the purity of the divisions into which they are split. The autochthonous population is thrown into one confused mass, which only ties of subordination of a rather loose nature connect with their masters. The religious ideas, brought by the invaders, penetrate, more or less, into this mass, but never sufficiently to raise it to their own level. Still in spreading over vast areas, where their settlements are seldom enclosed by any natural limits, the invaders become dispersed ; shaken by the hazards of the struggle, the primitive groups are severed. The rigour of the genealogical principle, which united them, is thus compromised ; to form anew, the scattered parts follow geographical proximities, or other conveniences.

Slowly the necessities of a less movable existence begin to be felt. Life becomes more sedentary in villages of pastoral and agricultural industry; and these, at first, are founded according to relationship ; for the laws of the family and of the clan preserve a sovereign authority; they continue to observe the traditional customs that are sanctioned by religion. The more fixed habits develop the needs and the professions of a civilization, which has got ripe for more refined exigencies. The workmen of every description are, in their turn, caught in the network, be it that the community of residence brings on the community of occupation, or, that the scattered representatives of the same profession, in places sufficiently near to keep some contact, obey an imperious necessity in modelling themselves upon the only type of organization known around them.

With time two facts have asserted themselves : more or less acknowledged mixtures have taken place between the races; the Aryan notions of purity have found their way into this hybrid population and even into the purely aboriginal tribes. From this rise two orders of scruples which multiply the sub-divisions, according to the more or less pronounced impurity, either of descent, or of professions. While the ancient principles of family life remain in force, the factors of grouping are diversified: occupation, religion, neighbourhood and others still, at the side of the primitive principle of consanguinity, the mask of which they more or less put on. The groups are increasing in number and intersecting. Under the double action of their own traditions and of the ideas which they borrow from the Aryan civilization, even the aboriginal tribes, as they by and by give up their isolated and savage life, accelerate the influx of new sub-divisions. Now caste exists. We see how—in its different gradations—it has slowly substituted itself for the family *regime* of which it is the heir.

A political power could have subordinated these organisms to the domain of a regular system. But no political constitution does dawn. Even the thought of it does not appear. Why should we wonder at this ? The priestly power cannot be favourable to it ; for it would be the loser by it

now its action is very strong and very steady; it paralyses the exercise of power even in the military aristocracy. The configuration of the country does not create natural nucleuses for concentration; every boundary there is floating. Pastoral life has long maintained a spirit of severe tradition; no ardent taste for any action impairs it. The vanquished population is numerous; more repressed, than absorbed, it is slowly invaded by the sacerdotal propaganda rather than subjected by a rude conquest. With some temperaments, it preserves much of its ancient organization, especially there, where it is confined and isolated. By the masses which it interposes, by the example of its very rudimentary institutions, even by the facility with which these institutions are melting into the still rather rudimentary organization of the immigrants, it opposes one obstacle more to the constitution of a true political power. Therefore, there is no beginning of a state.

In this confusion the sacerdotal class alone has preserved a solid *esprit de corps*; it alone is in possession of an altogether moral, but very efficacious power. This power it uses to strengthen and to extend its privileges; it further makes use of it to establish some sort of order and of cohesion under its supremacy. It generalises and codifies the state of fact in an ideal system which it is endeavouring to pass as a law, the legal *regime* of the caste. It amalgamates in the caste the actual situation with the tenacious traditions of the past, when the hierarchy of classes laid the foundations of its power, since then so largely increased.

Sprung from a mixture of arbitrary pretensions and authentic facts, this system becomes, in its turn, a force. Not only the Brahmins carry it as a dogma into the parts of the country, the assimilation of which takes place at a later date; it, everywhere, is reacting by the ideas upon practice, owing to the immense authority attached to its patrons. The speculative ideal tends to impose itself as the strict rule of duty. But there was too great a distance between the facts and the theory, as that they ever could be brought completely to fit together.

What interests us, is to trace the way, which the institution has followed in its spontaneous growth. I, therefore, may stop here.

Caste, in my opinion, is the normal prolongation of the ancient Aryan institutions as remodelled by the vicissitudes into which they were involved by the new conditions and surroundings they met in India. It would be inexplicable without this traditional basis, as it would be unintelligible without the alloys, that have been mixed with it, without the circumstances that have kneaded it.

I should like to be understood well. I do not pretend to assert, that the *regime* of castes, as we observe it at present, with the endless sections, so different in nature and cohesion it includes, contains nothing but the logical, purely organical development of primitive Aryan elements only. Groups of varied origin, of variable structure, have entered the caste *regime* at all times, and still are multiplying in it: clans of invaders, that mark the route of successive conquests; aboriginal tribes come forth late from their wild isolation; accidental fractionings, either of proper castes or of similar groups. More still: such mixtures, which, complicated by multiple combinations, give so disconcerting, so shadowy a physiognomy to the caste of our days, undoubtedly, happened, already quite early. If they have been going on asserting themselves more and more, they have begun from the period, when the *regime* was forming. I have already said it; I repeat it with a purpose: by condensing a general conclusion in a brief formula, you run the risk of appearing to exaggerate your principle, you run the risk of falsifying a thesis in itself. Just by stretching it to the extreme, be it by an effort to precise too categorically, or by a desire to lay more stress on views, you consider now. I should not wish to be suspected of any such enticement, being strongly on my guard against it.

What I think is this, that the Aryans of India, whatever influences they may have undergone from outside, whatever troubles the hazards of history may have brought with them, have drawn

from their own ground the essential elements of caste, such as it has been practised, conceived and finally put into a system. If the *regime*, under which India has lived, is neither a purely economical organization of trades, nor a barbarous chaos of tribes and of foreign and hostile races, nor a simple hierarchy of classes, but a mixture of all these things, united by the common inspiration that rules the working of all the groups by the common set of ideas and characteristic prejudices, which connect them, divide them, fix between them the precidences, it is explained by the fact, that the family constitutions, surviving through all evolutions, ruling the Aryans first, then growing with their influence, and imposing itself even upon the groups of independent origin, has been the pivot of a slow transformation.

I am not heedless enough to forget that it has been penetrated by heterogeneous elements. Moreover, after being once completed in its essential features, it has no doubt undergone the action of analogy, like all systems, which are growing old, and in which tradition does not longer imbibe new strength from a living consciousness of the beginnings. Besides the various principles which have been severally considered as the springs of caste, even arbitrary change disguised under false pretences has done its work. Though accidental or secondary, such alterations have not failed to throw some trouble into the physiognomy of the facts. Still I do not insist upon them. If there be need, their sources will be found in some of the details, which I have had the opportunity of setting forth by-the-bye.

Even to limit ourselves to the period of formation, how much we should like to settle dates! What I have said on the literary tradition, will explain that I have no precise dates to offer. Ancient institutions become impregnated with a new spirit only by insensible advances; movements, which, according to circumstances, go on at an unequal pace, in different regions, are not manifested in the evidences, until the preceding condition of things has become entirely unrecognizable. They are obscure, because they are slow. They do not admit of any rigorous dating. At most one might flatter himself to determine, at which moment the Brahminical system, which rules the caste theoretically, has received its last form. Still even this pretension would be over ambitions. We may console ourselves, we should not be much more advanced, by that, if it is true, the system is summing up the ideal of the dominant caste rather than reflecting the real situation.

Even as far as regards the *Veda*, the value of the hints it affords is anything but definite It would be necessary to know whether it really exhausts the whole of contemporaneous facts, whether it presents them completely and faithfully. I do not think at all, that we may boast of any such certainty. What is sure, is that we discover in the Vedas still standing out in full relief that hierarchy of classes which was later on resolved into the *regime* of the castes. Still it is undoubted that, in the Vedic period already the causes had begun to act, which ? by their combined and continued working had to graft a new order on the old Aryan trunk.

The Aryans of India and the Aryans of the classical world start from the same premises. How different are the consequences on one side and on the other!

At the beginning the same groups exist on both sides, governed by the same beliefs, the same customs. In Greece and in Italy, these small societies combine to an organized whole. They rise, one above the other, in a regular system. Every group preserves its full autonomy in its sphere of action; but the higher federation which constitutes the city, comprises the common interests and regulates the common action. The chaos takes shape under the hands of the Greeks. The disjointed organisms are melted into a larger unity. In proportion as it is getting formed, the new idea which is its hidden soul, the political idea appears in outline. As the caste, the "city" has sprung from the common primitive constitution, cast in the mould of the same religious rules, of the same traditions, but inspired by new necessities, it puts forth a new principle of organization. It shows itself capable of growing, of doing without the barriers which have supported, but also confined its first steps. Later on, it will, whilst transforming itself, supply a frame wide enough for giving room to the deepest revolutions in ethics and in power.

In India the caste continues the ancient customs: it even in several respects develops them in their logical direction; but it loses something of that impulse which had created the primitive groups, and does not renew their spirit. Different ideas mix with—or take the place of the genealogical bond, which had knit together the first societies. In modifying themselves, in becoming castes, they do not find a directive principle in themselves; they cross one another, each remaining isolated in its jealous autonomy. The frame is immense without distinct borders, without organic life; a confused mass of small independent societies bent under a common level.

The classical language of India is distinguished from the kindred languages, by a striking singularity. The finite verb holds hardly any place in the sentence; the thought is developed by means of long compounds often vague in their relation. In place of a solid syntactical construction, the lines of which are set forth clearly, in which the incidents detach themselves in neatly set clauses, the sentence knows only a loose structure, where the elements of the thought, being simply in juxtaposition, are wanting in relief. The religious beliefs of India scarcely present themselves as positive dogmas. In the fluctuating lines of an ill-defined pantheism, the oppositions and divergences rise one moment to sink down again, like a shifting eddy, in the moving mass. Contradictions quickly resolve into a conciliatory syncretism wherein the vigour of schisms loses its nerve. An accommodating orthodoxy is covering all dissents with its wide cloak. There is nowhere a categorical, united, intransigent doctrine. On social ground an analogous phenomenon appears to us in the caste system. We have everywhere the same spectacle of a want of plastic power.

Whatever sap it may have borrowed from exterior and historical circumstances, this is indeed the fruit of the Hindu mind. The social organization of India stands in the same relation to the structure of the Hellenic "city," in which a Hindu poem stands to a Greek tragedy. The Hindu genius no less in practical life, than in art, rarely shows itself capable of organization, *i. e.*, of measure, of harmony. In caste, all its effort has been devoted to maintain, to strengthen, a network of closed groups, without common action, without mutual reaction, finally recognizing no other motive power, but the unbalanced authority of a priestly class which has absorbed the whole direction of the minds. Under the levelling hand of Brahmanism the castes are moving, as the episodes are jostling in disorder in the vague unity of the epic narrative. It seems sufficient if an artificial system theoretically marks such incoherence.

The destinies of caste, if well looked at, are an instructive chapter in the psychology of India.

MAYURAJA.

BY BHATTANATHA SVAMIN; VIZAGAPATAM.

Mâyûrâja is the Sanskṛit poet of whom the *Catalogus Catalogorum* speaks as being a poet mentioned in the *Sûktimuktâvali*. Mahâmahopâdhyâya Pandit Durgâprasâd quotes the following verse in his elaborate preface to the *Karpûramañjarî*:—

मायूराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यः करचुलिः कविः ।
उदन्वतः समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनांशवः ॥[1]

"No other poet of the Karachuli family was born equal to Mâyûrâja. How many moons have come out of the ocean?"

[1] Prof. Peterson in quoting from *Hariharâvalî* or *Subhâshitahârâvalî* gives a different version of this verse in his second Report, p. 59.

मयूरादसमो जज्ञे मान्यः कुलिचुरिः कविः ।
उदन्वतः समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनांशवः ॥

If in the first line मान्यः were the reading, as in the above verse, then कातिवा in the second line would entirely lose its force. I doubt that a poet named Kulichuri who is related to Mayûra ever existed. The reading of *Hariharâvalî*, as given above, must be a mistake. In the following pages of the Report, Prof, Peterson translates the above verse thus:—"But from Mayûra there sprung (as his pupil) the poet Kulichuri, a single birth which more rivalled the countless moons that night after night rise out of the ocean." I fear this is not the meaning of the verse even according to his reading.

The authorship of this verse is attributed to the poet Râjaśekhara. Probably this is the verse of the *Sûktimuktâvali* referred to by Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum.*

In the same preface, Pandit Durgâprasâd cites the following verse of Mâyûrâja from the *Sûktimuktâvali* :—

गण्डूषाशोषिताब्धिप्रचुरजलधरोत्फालजातस्मितानां
हेलाकृष्टार्कचन्द्राभिनवकृतमहाकुण्डलाभोगभाजाम् ।
पीनोरःस्थापिताशाद्विरदमदमषीमांसलस्थासकानां
दूरं यातस्य वत्स स्मरति दशशिरास्त्वच्छिशुक्रीडितानाम् ॥

From this and other verses found in the anthologies, the Pandit concludes that Mâyûrâja must have been the author of a drama with the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* for its plot.[2] But he was not able to ascertain the name of the drama.

Now, realising the importance of the contribution made by this old poet to Sanskṛit literature and attracted by the notable style of the poet found in anthologies, I greatly wished to find out the name of his work, and thus to bring to light this hidden portion of the treasure of Sanskṛit literature. For this purpose I ransacked all the works on rhetoric, notably, *Daśarûpâvaloka Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, Sâhityadarpaṇa,* etc. In the course of my search I noted down the names of all the *Râmâyaṇa* dramas. I give their names in the following table in alphabetical order. Against the name of each drama, the name of the work in which it is referred to is also given.

No.	Work.	Referred to in.
1	Anargharâghava	Sâhityadarpaṇa.
2	Uttararâmacharita	Daśarûpâvaloka.
3	Udâttarâghava	Do. and Sâhityadarpaṇa.
4	Kundamâlâ	Sâhityadarpaṇa.
5	Kṛityârâvaṇa	Do.
6	Chhalitarâma	Do. Daśarûpâvaloka and Sarasvatîkanthâbharaṇa.
7	Jânakîrâghava	Sâhityadarpaṇa.
8	Nirdoshadaśaratha (?)	Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa.
9	Bâlarâmâyaṇa	Sâhityadarpaṇa.
10	Mahâvîracharita	Do. Daśarûpâvaloka and Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa.
11	Râghavâbhyudaya	Sâhityadarpaṇa.
12	Râmâbhinanda	Do.
13	Râmâbhyudaya	Do. Daśarûpâvaloka and Dhvanyâloka and Lochana.
14	Vâlivadha	Sâhityadarpaṇa.

[2] See preface to *Karpûramañjarî*, p. 9 (*Kâvyamâlâ*).

Of these dramas we know that *Anargharâghava* was written by Murâri[3]; *Uttararâmacharita* and *Mahâvîracharîta* by the illustrious Bhavabhûti; *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*, by Râjaśekhara; and lastly, *Râmâbhyudaya* by the poet king Yaśovarman.[4] The authorship of the remaining dramas is clouded in mystery. One of these, *Udâttarâghava*, is unhesitatingly attributed to the poet Bhâsa by some learned men of Southern India. In his *History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 67, Mr. M. Krishnamâchârya, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., says "At least the names of three of his [Bhâsa's] works we have known on reliable authority. The *Udâttarâghava* develops the eminent side of the character of Râma. The *Svapnavâsavadatta* occupies itself with the story of Udayana's marriage with Vâsavadattâ. The *Kiraṇâvalî* is said to be a *Nâṭikâ* in the mode of the *Ratnâvalî*.' Here the author says that "on reliable authority" he has known the names of the three dramas of Bhâsa. But at the same time he does not mention who is his "reliable authority." We can however accept Bhâsa's authorship of *Svapnavâsavadatta* on the authority of Râjaśekhara.

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि च्छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥[5]

Moreover, Dhvanyâlokâlochana quotes from this drama.[6] As to *Kiraṇâvali*, I very much doubt that a drama of the name of *Kiruṇâvali* by Bhâsa or any other poet ever existed.

Now as to the third drama, *Udâttarâghava*, the attribution of the authorship of this drama to Bhâsa is not supported by any evidence. Though a drama of that name is quoted in the work on rhetoric, we do not find a single statement in support of Bhâsa's authorship thereof and in fact, we find a statement in contradiction to it. Even in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* the name of the author of the drama is not given, but the name only of the work in which it is quoted. In a lengthy discussion on the subject, in his preface to *Priyadarśikâ*, Pandit R. V. Krishnamâchârya says, तथा उदात्तराघवस्य नाममात्रं साहित्यदर्पणादिषु श्रूयते । न तु कविस्तत्र निश्चीयते.[7] "In works like *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, only the name *Udâttarâghava* is heard of; but the author is not mentioned.

But from the ordinary works on rhetoric it can be shown that neither the author of the *History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature* nor the editor of the *Priyadarśikâ* is right. Moreover,

[3] Murâri is quoted by Maṅkha in his *Srîkaṇṭhacharita*:—

प्रक्रमैर्हठवक्रिम्णो मुरारिमनुधावतः ।
श्रीराजशेखरगिरो नीवी यस्योक्तिसंपदाम् ॥

[XXV, 74.]

And he is not quoted or referred to by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa* or by any author previous to Bhoja. So Murâri may be assigned a date between A. D. 1050 and 1135.

Pandit Durgâprasâd says that Murâri lived before the middle of the 9th century and gives the quotation from *Haravijaya* as referring to Murâri.

अङ्के कुनाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य नाशं कविर्व्यधित यस्य मुरारिरित्थम् ॥

[XXXVIII, 68.]

(See introduction to *Subhâshitâvali*, p. 91 and *Anargharâghava*, p. 1, note.

Durgâprasâd thinks that here the word मुरारि has two meanings. But it is not so. The poet compares Murâri or Vishṇu with the author of a bad drama,—the former destroyed the hero Hiraṇyakaśipu in his *aṅka* or lap, and the latter exhibits the murder of the hero in an act. In Murâri's drama, the death of the hero does not take place in any act. Murâri cannot, therefore, be the poet referred to in the verse. The commentator Alaka also says that there is a pun on the words अङ्क and उत्तमनायक only, and not on मुरारि.

[4] See *Dhvanyâloka*, p. 148 (Commentary). Yaśovarman is the patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpatirâja, a Prâkṛit poet; cf. Introduction, *Subhâshitâvalî*, p. 95.

[5] This verse is taken from *Sûktimuktâvalî*. See preface to *Karpûramañjarî*, p. 7. [*Vide*, above Vol. XL. p. 88—D.R.B.]

[6] *Dhvanyâloka*, p. 152 (Commentary).

[7] Introduction to *Priyadarśikâ*, (Vani-Vilas Press Edition), p. XXVI.

It seems remarkable that the following statement in the well-known work *Daśarûpâvaloka* has not been noticed.

यथा छद्मना वालिवधो मायूराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्तः।[8]

"For example, the unlawful killing of Vâli is dropped by Mâyûrâja in [his] *Udâttarâghava.*"

Thus, by a simple reference to *Daśarûpâvaloka*, we learn that *Udâttarâghava* was written by Mâyûrâja. So we see that Pandit Durgâprasâd was right so far as he went. From the commentary on *Kâvyânuśâsana* of Hemachandra p. 335, Mâyûrâja seems to be the author of a *kâvya* also.

Now let us consider some points first about the author Mâyûrâja, and then about the work itself.

We have already shown that Mâyûrâja was a Rajput of the Kalachuri clan. We know that the Kalachuri princes ruled the Chedi country. This Chedideśa is at present identified with Berar and the northern part of Central Provinces. The capital of the country was at first Mâhishmatî or the modern Maheśvar.[9] Afterwards the town named Tripura was made the capital This Tripura is now identified with Tevur near Jabalpore.[10] So Mâyûrâja might have been a king of Chedi country with its capital Mâhishmatî. Unfortunately, the history of the early Kalachuris is a blank in Indian History, and we know nothing about the princes between A. D. 580 and A. D. 875. So one must await future research for additional information about the personal history of our poet king.

Now, as regards the work itself, it will help us in fixing the approximate date of the author. As the work is not found anywhere, we have to rely on the quotations in the *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, *Daśarûpâvaloka, etc.* *Daśarûpâvaloka* quotes *Udâttarâghava* in six different places, while the other work *Sâhityadarpaṇa* has quotations from it in only five different places, which include four of the *Daśarûpâvaloka.* From these quotations we learn that the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* forms the basis of the plot of the drama. We also learn that the poet did not closely follow it, but changed the original as he pleased. The first deviation is :—

चित्रमायः—भगवन् कुलपते रामभद्र परित्रायतां परित्रायताम् (इत्याकुलतां नाटयति)

चित्रमायः—मृगरूपं परित्यज्य विधाय कपटं वपुः ।
नीयते रक्षसा तेन लक्ष्मणो युधि संशयम् ॥[11]

रामः—वत्सस्याभयवारिधेः प्रतिभयं मन्ये कथं राक्षसात्त्रस्तश्चैष मुनिर्विरौति मनसश्चास्त्येव मे संभ्रमः ।
माहासीर्जनकात्मजामिति मुहुः स्नेहाद्गुरुर्याचते न स्थातुं न च गन्तुमाकुलमतेर्मूढस्य मे निश्चयः ॥[12]

In the story of the hunt of the *mâyâmṛiga*, Lakshmaṇa is made to go first in pursuit of the game. Then, when Râma was informed by the disguised Râkshasa that Lakshmaṇa was in danger, he went to save his brother, when Sîtâ was carried away by Râvaṇa.

Secondly, we have in the *Daśarûpâvaloka* :—

यथा छद्मना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्तः ।

From this we learn that Mâyûrâja omitted the story of the unlawful killing of Vâli.[13] Here the word छद्मना (=unlawfully) seems to be used for explaining the poet's object in omitting the story. The poet perhaps wished to bring out the character of Râma without any defect.

Now the verse मृगरूपं, etc., quoted above, is said in the *Daśarûpâvaloka* to belong to *Udâttarâghava*[14] and in *Sâhityadarpaṇa* to *Kulapatyaṅka.*[15] It appears, therefore, that the act

[8] *Daśarûpaka* (N. S. Press Edition), p. 88.

[9] Preface to *Karpûramañjarî*, p. 8.

[10] Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd Edition, p. 93.

[11] This verse is also quoted in *Sarasvatîkaṇṭâbharaṇa* (Barooh,s 2nd Edition), p. 380.

[12] *Daśarûpaka*, pp. 110, 111. *Kâvysnuśâsana* of Hemachandra, p. 97.

[13] This statement is corroborated by *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (p. 275 of the N. S. Press edition).

[14] *Daśarûpâvaloka*, p. 100.

[15] *Sâhityadarpaṇa* p. 326.

dealing with *Sîtâpaharaṇa* in the *Udâttarâghava* is named *Kulapatyaṅka.* The quotation यथा कुलपत्यङ्के रावणजटायुसंवादः[16] also leads to the same conclusion.

The above facts show that the plot of the *Udâttarâghava* deviates much more from the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* than the plot of Bhavabhûti's *Vîracharita.* We find as a matter of fact that the later a *Râmâyaṇa* drama is, the more does the story deviate from the original. The story went on altering till in the *Jânakîpariṇaya*[17] and *Adbhutadarpaṇa*[18] the original story can scarcely be recognised. Bhavabhûti seems to have been the first to dramatise the *Râmâyaṇa*, as he successfully worked up a greater part of the story into drama, and as he does not, like Murâri, Râjaśekhara and Jayadeva[19], refer to previous authors on the subject. So Mâyûrâja, the author of *Udâttarâghava* cannot be in, my opinion, earlier than Bhavabhûti, whose time has been fixed by Dr. Bhandarkar to be the first half of the eighth century A.D.[20]. That he was not later than Râjaśekhara is obvious from Râjaśekhara's own verse quoted by me at the beginning of this article. Râjaśekhara's date has been fixed on definite grounds by Pandit Durgâprasâd in his preface to *Karpûramañjarî* to be between A.D. 884-959[21]. So Mâyûrâja must have flourished somewhere between A.D. 750 and 880.

I give below the passages of Mâyûrâja from *Udâttarâghava*, which have been quoted in the works on rhetoric, omitting the quotation, which has already been given in the course of the article. These passages may help the public to form an opinion about the style of the author of the yet unknown drama :—

रामो मूर्ध्नि निधाय काननमगान्मालामिवाज्ञां गुरोस्तद्भक्त्या भरतेन राज्यमखिलं मात्रा सहैवोज्झितम् ।
तौ सुग्रीवविभीषणावनुगतौ नीतौ परां संपदं प्रोत्सिक्ता दशकन्धरप्रभृतयो ध्वस्ताः समस्ता द्विषः ॥

[*Daśarûpaka* p. 76 ; *Sâhitydarpaṇa.* p. 265.]

२ जीयन्ते जयिनोऽपि सान्द्रतिमिरव्रातैर्वियद्व्यापिभिर्भास्वन्तः सकला रवेरपि कराः कस्मादकस्मादमी ।
एते चोग्रकबन्धकण्ठरुधिरैराध्मायमानोदरा मुञ्चन्त्याननकंदरानलमुचस्तीव्रान्रवान्फेरवाः ॥

[*Daśarûpaka*, p. 79 ; *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, p. 310.]

३ राक्षसः—
तावन्तस्ते महात्मानो निहताः केन राक्षसाः ।
येषां नायकतां यातास्त्रिशिरःखरदूषणाः ॥
द्वितीयः—गृहीतधनुषा रामहतकेन ।
प्रथमः—किमेकाकिनैव ।
द्वितीयः—अदृष्ट्वा कः प्रत्येति । पश्य तावतोऽस्मद्बलस्य ।
सद्यश्छिन्नशिरःश्वभ्रमज्जत्कङ्कालसंकुलाः ।
कबन्धाः केवलं जातास्तालोत्ताला रणाङ्गणे ॥
प्रथमः—सखे, यद्येवं तदाहमेवंविधः किं करवाणि ।

[*Daśarûpaka*, pp. 102 and 103.]

४ प्रविश्य पटाक्षेपेण संभ्रान्तो वानरः—महाराअ, एदं खु पवणणन्दणागमणेण पहरिस........ .... देवस्स हिअआणन्दजणणं विअलिदं महुवणं ।

[*Daśarûpaka*, p. 111.]

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16 *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, p. 281.

17 A drama by Râmabhadradîkshita who was (according to his *Jânakîpariṇaya*) a contemporary of Nîlakaṇṭhadîksihta, who composed his *Nîlakaṇṭhavijaya* in 1637.

18 A drama by Mahâdeva, son of Krishṇasûri and pupil of Bâlakrishṇa the teacher of Râmabhadradîkshita Mahâdeva was, therefore, a contemporary of Râmabhadradîkshita.

19 The author of *Prasannarâghava*, son of Mahâdeva of *Kauṇḍinyagotra* and Sumitrâ. Besides *Prasannarâghava*, he wrote *Chandrâloka* and a commentary on *Tattvachintâmaṇi*. He is quoted in *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (p. 199). Babu Mon Mohan Chakravarti assigns to *Sâhityadarapaṇa* a date not later than the 14th century A.D. See *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXXII, part I, p. 146.

20 See Introduction to *Mâlatîmâdhava*, Bombay Sanskrit Series. 21 See preface to *Karpûramañjarî*, p. 2.

KARIKALA AND HIS TIMES.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B. A.; OOTACAMUND.

ONE of the oldest cities of Southern India is **Kâvirippûmpattiṉam.** It is situated on the sea coast, 12 miles south-east of Shiyali in the Tanjore district.[1] In ancient times it also bore the name **Pugâr.** That it was near the mouth of the river Kâvêrî and had in it the temples of Śâyîvanam and Pallavanîśvaram are recorded in the *Dêvâram* songs.[2] Ancient Tamiḻ literature abounds in references to this old city and these show that it was a place of considerable size and importance in early times. Excluding the authors of the *Dêvâram*, the poets that give a glowing description of the place, the wealth of the town, the pleasures and pastimes of its inhabitants and the busy trade which it kept up with the outside world and the inland countries, are not few. Chief among them may be mentioned the Chêra prince Iḷaṅgôvaḍigaḷ, the author of *Silappadigâram*; Śîttalai Śâttaṉâr who composed the *Maṇimêgalai*; Rudraṅkaṉṉaṉâr and Nappûdaṉâr, the authors of three of the poems in the collection known as *Pattuppâṭṭu.* There are evidences in these writings to show that some of the authors visited the place which they described, while others were its inhabitants.

Not long after the time of the Śaiva saints, Ñânasambandar and Appar, who are assigned to the middle of the 7th century A. D , the sea washed away the whole town with its boasted splendour and glory. It was about this time that the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, visited many of the important places of Southern India. This town should certainly have been one of them if it had then been in existence, But its identity with the southern **Charitrapura,** as some take it, is doubtful. There are grounds to suppose that even in earlier times, there was an encroachment of the sea on this portion of the east coast, when other places seem to have been submerged in the ocean. We may perhaps trace an allusion to such any inundation in the name Tôṇipuram by which the town of Shiyali was known in early times. In their hymns on Tirukkaḻumalam, Ñânasambandar and Appar state in clear terms that it once floathed like a boat in the water of the sea. Several villages were destroyed, but Tôṇipuram is said to have survived the effects of the event.[3] The foundations of the original city of Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṉam must have been laid long after the first inundation but when it was founded, how long it thrived as the principal town of the Chôḷa empire and who the sovereigns were that ruled over it, are facts yet to be ascertained. The Greek geographer, Ptolemy, who flourished in the second century A. D. speaks of *Chabaris Emporium* and this has been taken to refer to the port of Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṉam. After the destruction of the city by the encroachment of the aes perhaps at the close of the 7th century A. D., it seems to have been refounded and been again

[1] Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, I. p. 272

[2] The references that '*Poṉṉi śâgaramêvu śâykkâḍu,' i. e.* Śâykkâḍu (Śâyâvaṉam) at the place where the Poṉṉi (Kâvêri) joins the sea: '*Vâytta mâḷigai Śûltaru vaṉ-Pugâr-mâḍê pûtta vâvigaḷ śûlndu polinda* ' Śâykkâḍu ' and '*Pugârir-Pallavanîchcharam*' occurring in Ñânasambandar's hymns and *Pûm-Pugâr-Chchâykkâḍu* and *Kāvirippûmpaṭṭiṉattu-Śâykkâḍu* found in the hymns of Appar make it clear that both Śâykkâḍu and Pallavanîśvaram were in Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṉam and that the town was near the sea. It is worthy of note that Śâykkâḍu and Śâyâvaṉam are synonymous. It may also be pointed out that Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr who is later than the other two Saiva saints has not contributed any hymn on the temples at Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṉam, though he has visited places near it and composed hymns on them.

[3] The expression '*Kaḍuvarai śûḻnda kaḍal-iḍai midakkum Kalumala-nagar*' occurring in one of the hymns of Ñâṉasambandar, '*alaiyum peru-veḷḷatt-aṉṟu midanda Tôṇipuram*' and '*munnîrin midanda*' found in the verses of Appar and '*Kaḍal-koḷḷa midanda kaḻumala vaḷanagar*' in the songs of Sundaramûrti furnish evidence on the point. One other reference in Appar's *Dêvâram* which says that four or five birds are supposed to have borne the burden of the feet of god at Shiyali on the day when the sea encroached on the land is also of interest.

a place of importance till the 15th century A. D. Then it ceased to be such, partly owing to the silting up of the Kâvêri[4] and partly also to some other causes. The sandy mounds found scattered over several places near the villages of Talaichcheṅgâḍu, Shiyali and Mêlaipperumpaḷḷam amply testify to the inundations of the sea. The fragments of brick and tile strewn over the fields near the now insignificant villages round the ruins of Kâvêrippaṭṭaṇam indicate the remains of the town founded in later times. Colonel Yule identifies Paṭṭiṇam with Fattan of the Muhammadan historian Rashîdu'ddîn. If anything like the remains of the original city referred to by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A. D. and said to have been destroyed five centuries later, is to be traced at all, it must be by the axe and spade. In other words, it is only excavation on a large scale conducted in a scientific and systematic method, a thing much to be desired, that would enable us to have a peep into the past greatness of the city.

The name Pallavanîśvaram, by which one of the temples at Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṇam was called in the middle of the 7th century A. D., suggests that it should have been either built by a Pallava king or that it came into existence during the time of a Pallava, whose sway was acknowledged in that part of the country where the village was situated. It is even probable that the temple was founded sometime earlier, and in this case, it must have existed in an insignificant form before its construction on a grander scale was undertaken by the Pallava king. We do not know to which of the Pallavas the construction of the temple of Pallavanîśvaram should be ascribed, but we can assign it with a good deal of probability to Narasiṁhavarman I., the contemporary of Ñânasambandar, because excepting him none other of the line claims to have conquered the Chôḷas.

Such have been the fortunes of the city, which, at the time of Karikâla, one of the greatest sovereigns of the Chôḷa dynasty, became the principal town of the empire. This king was not unaware of its advantageous position for trade. Accordingly, he appears to have improved it to a considerable extent by building warehouses and appointing officers to collect the dues to government on the articles exported from and imported into the country.[5] It is not unlikely that the seat of Government was removed by Karikâla to this place from Uṟaiyûr, which he is said to have abandoned, finding perhaps that it was not a central place and had not so much in its favour to be the capital of the empire as the flourishing port of Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṇam. Karikâla was certainly one of the most powerful Chôḷa kings that ruled from the city and his name is even to the present day known throughout the Tamiḻ country, and even in the Telugu districts that of a great monarch who looked to the welfare of the subjects entrusted to his care and as a patron of letters.

Inscriptions that mention him are indeed very few, but certainly not fewer than those that refer to the other great kings of the line. Except for the mere mention of him, Chôḷa inscriptions do not throw much light on the events connected with his reign. This is because we have not as yet obtained any copper-plate grant relating to the dynasty to which Karikâla belonged, all the charters discovered hitherto being only those of the revived Chôḷa line started by Vijayâlaya in about the 9th century A. D. Nor are we in possession of the facts which brought an end to the earlier line. It is not even known who the last great sovereign was. But there is not much doubt, however, that the Pallava expansion in the south and the establishment of the Châlukyas were some of the causes which might have contributed to this end, not to say the effeminacy and weakness of some of the Chôḷa kings, who do not appear to have persisted in maintaining their ground against the advancing northern powers. The Udayêndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa king Pṛithivîpati II. Hastimalla place Karikâla

[4] Above, Vol. VII. p. 40.

[5] See *Paṭṭiṇappâlai*.

between Kiḷḷi and Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṇ, while the Leyden plates mention him prior to Kôchcheṅgaṇṇâṇ and Kiḷḷi. Both the Eastern Châlukyas and Telugu Chôḷas, whose copper-plate charters are not few, claim descent from Karikâla and the importance of these will be discussed later on. Though the materials furnished by inscriptions regarding his reign are scanty, yet there is no room for complete disappointment, for the literature of the early Tamils has on record many a reference, which could be of use to the students of history.

The exact time when this king flourished is not given either in the copper-plates which mention him or in the Tamiḻ works which describe his times. Scanty as the materials are for settling the question of his date, the approximate period to which this king should be ascribed can fairly be made out by a consideration of certain facts and events connected with his reign. These are :—

(1) The battle at Veṇṇil, where Karikâla defeated the Chêra and the Pâṇḍya kings.

(2) Karikâla ruled from Kâñchî, which he made new with gold.

(3) The fight with Trilôchana-Pallava, whom he is said to have defeated.

(4) He brought a number of families from the Gangetic valley and settled them in the several districts of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

(5) Karikâla was an ally of Avanti and an overlord of Vajra and Maghada.

(6) He figures among the early ancestors of the Telugu-Chôḍa chiefs and the Chôḷas.

Copper-plate charters of the Telugu-Chôḍa chiefs attribute to Karikâla the building of high banks to the Kâvêrî river and the conquest of Trilôchana-Pallava.[6] It may be stated that the former of these events is mentioned in the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant.[7] The statement that Karikâla ruled from Kâñchî making it new with gold might be taken to show either that the Pallavas had not settled themselves yet at Kâñchî, or that the Chôḷa king's conquest of them gave him its possession. The conquest of Trilôchana-Pallava attributed to Karikâla suggests that the latter is more probable. It is not known, however, which king among the Pallavas bore the surname Trilôchana. Whoever he was, he is also said to have been defeated by the Western Châlukya Vijayâditya, who, in spite of the victory, is reported to have lost his life in the encounter.[8] As Vijayâditya, with whom the Pallava contemporary of Karikâla had to fight, is considered to be the immediate predecessor of Pulakêśin I, and as the initial date of Pulakêśin is fixed at A. D. 550, Vijayâditya has to be assigned to the earlier half of the 6th century A. D. And this must also be the time, when the Chôḷa king Karikâla flourished. It may be noted that Vijayâditya was a king of northern India and came from Ayôdhyâ in quest of a dominion in the south. We are not informed if Trilôchana-Pallava met his two opponents in the same battle or in different encounters. If the Tamiḻ work *Toṇḍamaṇḍalaśadagam* can be relied upon, we may perhaps infer that Karikâla had something to do with the kings of northern India, whence Vijayâditya also came. Here we find that Karikâla brought a number of Śûdra families from the Gangetic valley (and on that account said to belong to the *Gaṅga-kula*), settled them in the 24 districts (*kôṭṭam*) of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, and bestowed on them rich gifts.[9] This fact and the subsequent settlement of the Western Châlukyas in southern India on a more or less firm footing might perhaps be adduced to show that Trilôchana-Pallava had to meet the combined forces of Karikâla and Vijayâditya, and that the two last were on some terms of alliance, which are not quite plain. It is not unlikely, that some of the northern powers joined one side or the other. In this connection it is worthy of note that Karikâla is represented in the Tamiḻ work *Silappadigâram* as an ally of Avanti, which is Ujjain in Malwa,[10] and as the overlord of Vajra and Maghadha.[11] It looks as if Karikâla was

[6] P. 17 of the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900.
[7] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-07, p. 67.
[8] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 340.
[9] Stanza 97, p. 38.
[10] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 246 and Vol. VI. p. 195.
[11] Magadha denotes Southern Bihar in Lower Bengal.

instrumental in permanently settling the Western Châlukyas in southern India. The defeat of the Chêra and the Pâṇḍya on the plains of Veṇṇil, and the confederacy of nine potentates and the Pallavas in some unnamed places should have left Karikâla as the undisputed lord of the Dekkan. The Chêra king defeated by him was Śêramân Peruñchêral Âthan. He received a wound on his back and is said to have sought a voluntary death rather than being a monument of disgrace to his family.[12] That even the people of the Telugu districts acknowledged his sway is gathered from the fact that Karikâla figures among the early ancestors of the Telugu Chôḍa chiefs and the Chôḻas. Inscriptions of the Chôḻas are found in the Cuddapah and Bellary districts.

If the date we have now arrived at for Karikâla prove correct, it will be seen that Kanakasathai Pillai was wrong in identifying him with Kiḷḷi who died at Kurâppaḷḷi. His identification was based on taking *Perumâvaḷavaṉ* as a surname both of Karikâla and Kiḷḷi. *Perumâvaḷavaṉ* means the great Chôḷa and as such it might be applied to any monarch of the Chôḷa line. To show the incorrectness of the identification, we have only to point out that Kurâppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷi was a contemporary of the Pâṇḍya kings Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ and Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, who died at Madura and appear to have lived nearly a century later.[13] It is also worthy of note that none of the poets who were contemporaries of Karikâla figures among the contemporaries of Kurâppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷi, Ugra-Peruvaḻudi or Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ.

A word about Karikâla's paretage, which deserves to be mentioned here. He was the son of Iḷañjêṭcheṉṉi called also Iḷañjeṉṉi or Iḷaiyôṉ. This name means "the young Chôḷa" or "the young prince." He was perhaps the heir apparent to the Chôḷa throne and hence was known by that appellation. It may be noted that Iḷañcheṉṉi or Iḷaiyôṉ is something similar to *Iḷaṅgô*, *yuvarâja* or *Iḷavaraśu*. There is nothing to warrant our presuming that Iḷañjêṭcheṉṉi was a king of the Chôḷa dominions. He seems to have distinguished himself in the wars undertaken by the reigning king who, we might suppose, was his elder brother. The title *Uruvappahrêṟu*, which we find prefixed to his name, shows that he resembled a lion in prowess. Sometimes the name Iḷañjêṭcheṉṉi is connected with *Neydalaṅgânal* which perhaps denotes that the tract of country over which he was the lord, bordered on the sea and it was, most probably, near the mouth of the Kâvêrî river. He married a daughter of Aḻundûr-vêḷ. Aḻundûr is perhaps identical with Têr- or Tiruv-Aḻundûr near Mâyaveram. He is credited with having defeated in battle the Chêra king of his day and taken from him a place called Pâmaḻûr[14]. Kuḍakkô-Neḍuñjêral Âthan might be the person vanquished by him as we know that he was his contemporary.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that the accession of Karikâla to the Chôḷa throne is not quite regular, as he had no claims to it, if the reigning king had any issue. There are also grounds for inferring that on the death of Karikâla's predecessor, there were several claimants to the Chôḷa throne and Karikâla succeeded in getting it through the aid of his uncle Irumbiḍar Talaiyâr. The story that an elephant from Tirukkaḻumalam put a garland on Karikâla's neck, carried him on its back and placed him on the Chôḷa throne when he was stationed at Karuvûr perhaps tells the same fact. It is worthy of note that this story is quite similar to another recorded about Mûrti-Nâyaṉâr, one of the Saiva devotees who was raised to the rank of a Pâṇḍya king, when the Pâṇḍya country had no sovereign. If the interpretation of the name Karikâla is 'scorched leg', it is not unlikely that in the endeavour to get the kingdom, Karikâla happened to meet with an accident in which one of his legs was scorched[15]. Karikâla married the daughter of a *Vêḷir* chief of Nâṅgûr. A village of this name is celebrated in the Vaishṇava work Nâlâyiraprabandham. Inscriptions state that it was

12 The poets Kaḻâttalaiyâr and Veṇṇi-Kuyattiyâr refer to this king in Puṟanâṉûṟu, stanzas 65 and 66.

13 *Vide ante* Vol. XL. pp. 224 ff. "Date of Maduraikkâñchi and its hero."

14 Puṟam, stanzas 10 and 203.

15 Another way of interpreting the name is 'he (who is) death to the elephants (of his enemies).' In this case the name shows how powerful he was. If Kalikâla is the name, it means 'the destroyer (of the ev ls) of the Kali (age).'

the headquarters of a subdivision in ancient times. Tiruveṇgâḍu and Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṇam were places situated in it. It seems, therefore certain, that Kîḻ-Nâṅgûr in the Shiyali *tâluka* is identical with it. It is, therefore, no wonder that Karikâla had a special liking for Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṇam, that it was only three or four miles from Nâṅgûr whence his queen hailed.

He might probably have witnessed the annual destruction which the Kâvêrî river caused when it overflowed its banks during high floods and it may have led him to undertake the stupendous work of constructing high banks to the river to prevent the recurrence of the evil. By the way, it may be said that the irrigation of the Kâvêrî delta had engaged the attention of early Chôḷa kings. Of the several branches which this river has, the Veṇṇâṟu and the Araśil date back to times earlier than Karikâla [16] and most of the others are attributable to some of the members of the Chôḷa dynasty whose names they bear even at the present day.[17] The course of the river seems to have changed at an early date giving rise to a new source of irrigation to the country. Paḷaṅkâvêri was the name by which the original river was known to distinguish it from the new, but it is not known if this diversion of the river was due to natural causes, or if it was the work of any particular person. Paḷaṅkâvêri and Koḷḷiḍam were in existence prior to the 7th century A. D.[18] In spite of the diversion of water in these branches, the Kâvêrî seems to have carried much water and caused damage to the country during floods. Karikâla's services to the country in undertaking to build high banks and in opening new channels to improve the irrigation of the land, cannot be over estimated. The banks are said to measure 1,080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in width, and 15 to 18 feet in height. They successfully prevented annual destruction for nearly fifteen centuries by the mere inertia of the storage of materials. It is not unlikely that the bunds constructed by him were improved periodically. In all probability the ancient custom of parcelling out a few acres of land irrigated by the source among a few families who were required to take out fixed quantities of mud or sand from the bed and throw them on the bund every year, was followed in the case of the Kâvêrî also.

We have already referred to the **impetus given by Karikâla to commerce and trade** and this will appear in better light from the translation of Paṭṭiṇappâlai appended below. The poem was composed by Kaḍiyalûr Rudraṅkaṇṇaṉâr, who is reported to have received the munificent gift of sixteen *lakhs* of gold pieces as reward for his composition. We have also mentioned that Karikâla's contact with the northern powers gave him an opportunity for settling a number of people in the south. The growth of civilisation during this period seems to have assumed a different turn. The impulse given to art and trade is specially noteworthy. The condition of the people improved to a considerable extent and every effort was made to increase their happiness and prosperity.

Extract from Paṭṭiṇappâli.

The Chôḷa country was irrigated by the Kâvêrî river which never failed in its supply even when there was no rain. The fields yielded sugarcane from the juice of which jaggery was prepared; big bunches of plantains, cocoanuts and arecanuts. Mango and palm trees abounded. There were also flower gardens covering large areas. The tanks of the country had high bunds resembling the form of the constellation Makha. Fragrant flowers of a variety of colours were produced near them.

The villages in the country adjoined each other and the houses had large compounds in front where they dried paddy. Here children amused themselves by dragging three-wheeled little cars. The doors of the houses bore tiger marks. The royal palaces were white but soiled by the dust raised by cars and horses which were ever moving in the streets.

16 The names Veṇṇi-kuyattiyâr and Ariśilkiḻâr assumed by persons indicate the existence of the two branches of the Kâvêri.

17 It may be remarked that Vîraśôlaṉ, Kîrtimârtâṇḍaṉ (Kîrtimâṉ), Uyyakkoṇḍâṉ and Muḍigoṇḍâṉ are the surnames of some of the Chôḷa kings of the 10th and 11th centuries.

18 Several inscriptions mention Paḷaṅkâvêri. This and Koḷḷiḍam are referred to in the Dêvâram songs of the 7th century, A. D.

There were big alms houses where large quantities of rice were cooked and served to people resorting to them. Also places where small tanks were made and grass served for cattle. Jaina and Buddhist temples were found in one quarter of the town while in another the Brahmans with plaited hair performed sacrifices and raised volumes of smoke. The Paradavar living near the sea-coast ate *iṛâl* fish and boiled flesh of tortoises, wore the flowers of *aḍumbu* and *âmbal* and indulged in setting goats to fight in the open and spacious court yards. In the *puṛachchêri, i. e.* the quarter outside the town low-class people reared pigs and fowls.

On holidays the Paradavar of Pugâr abstained from going over the sea to catch fish, allowed their nets to dry on the white sand in front of their low-roofed houses which were built on the sea-shore. They wore the *tâḻai* flowers and garlands, drank toddy drawn from the palmyra and paddy and amused themselves in dancing around a post in which they invoked the presence of god. Accompanied by their wives they bathed in the high waves of the sea to expiate their sins, then in the fresh water of the river to remove the salt, made images and had other enjoyments throughout the day. And in the night they abstained from drinking, stayed in their high palaces, heard music and witnessed dramatic performances, spent some time in the moonlight and retired with their wives to rest, removing the silk cloths which they wore and putting on thin white robes. Just before the dawn of day they slept on the sands of the shore.

Near the wide streets of the Paradavar and on the sea-shore where the *tâḻai* flowers abounded there were warehouses with good guards. Things poured in here from all quarters for being stored eventually to be shipped. These, when removed from the warehouse, were stamped with tiger-marks and issued out on payment of a duty. Things landing from ships were similarly stamped with tiger-marks and duty charged. The officers who raised taxes on exports and imports were ever busy in their work.

In the upper stories of their houses, ladies of great beauty gathered near the windows with folded hands and joined palms to witness the festivities made for gods like *muruga, etc.*, which passed in the streets of the bazaars, to the accompaniment of music sounded by the *kuḻal, yâḻ, muḻam, muraśu, etc.* Their houses were storeyed, had raised pials and large court-yards where cattle played freely. At the gates and on the tops of buildings flags were put up. Men of learning and reputation also put up flags inviting combatants to challenge their skill. Attached to the masts of ships, in the port of Pugâr, there were other banners. In the toddy shops in front of which fish and flesh were spread out to dry, there were flags seen hoisting.

To the city were imported horses of good gait, in ships which were propelled by the wind; diamond and gold from Mount Mêru; sandalwood and *agil* from Coorg ; pearls from the southern ocean, coral from the eastern sea ; the wealth of the Gangetic region ; food-stuffs from Ceylon ; eatables from Burma and incense from other places. Thus, the streets of Pugâr literally bore the burden of rich merchandise which were imported from several quarters. Here were also streets inhabited by people of various creeds and tongues who had abandoned their towns and settled in this city where they formed new acquaintances and relations. The *veḷḷâḷar* who cultivated the land and who were the source of prosperity to all classes of people, lived in great numbers.

Not satisfied with the wealth of his own country and what was paid to him as tribute by the feudatory chiefs, the great Chôḷa *i. e.* Karikâla whose *kaḻal* touching the crowns of other kings made them bright, and in whose chest the sandal paste was rubbed out by the embrace of his wife and children, started on a tour of conquest with his elephants, horses, etc., destroyed his enemies' regions and killed their army in great numbers. He made the *aruvâḷar* obey his commands and the northern kings wither, caused trouble to the *kuḍavar*, cut away the progeny of *poduvar* and destroyed the Iruṅgôvêḷ. He destroyed the forests in the Chôḷa country, inhabited them, converting them into habitable lands, increased the wealth, abandoned Uṟandai with its brilliant palaces, built temples, set up families, opened small and large gates in the huge walls of the city, stored bows and arrows and showed his anger against the Pâṇḍya who was powerful in arms.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 70.*)

Pândol : the water-shed of a mountain, hill, or tract of country. Kângra Gloss.

Pândû : the lower stratum of clay. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878 83, p. 98.

Panga : the flat table land on the tops of hills. It requires much rain, but is slightly better than *bhet*. Cf. *tiba bangar*. Hoshiârpur S. R, p. 69.

Pangat : a line. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 70.

Pangharnâ : v. n. to melt.

Pângla : lame = *khoro*. Bauria *argot*.

Panhâr : the masonry apron of a well on which a man stands to pull out the bucket : Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 161.

Pani : see *gandra*.

Pânihâr : a water-fountain, in Chamba.

Panihârû : the *kiria karm* day. Churâh.

Pânî-wata : warts. Lahore.

Panja dâlnâ ; a game in which the fingers are interlocked and one player tries to twist round the hand of the other. Jullundur S. R., p. 65.

Panja jins : the right of the State to buy up grain at harvest at fixed rates : Kuthâr.

Panjaulî ; a man who collected supplies for the royal kitchen, milk, curds, wood, etc., in a *kothî*. Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Pankhi : a fine blanket. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Pankhî : a mat. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 157.

Panna : a ward of a village community, the branch of a family descended from a common ancestor, sometimes including strangers settled by it, if not numerous enough to form a *panna* of their own. Karnâl S. R., p. 92.

Panna mârna ; to cast lots. Karnâl S. R., p. 92.

Pânri : a rupee. Bauria *argot*.

Pântor : a plank to turn off water from the channel of a water-mill. When not wanted, called *chadol* by Gaddîs. Kângra Gloss.

Panyâra : the man who looks after the channels and lets the water successively into the irrigation beds. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Panyâri : a broad cutting blade of wood passed through the same mortice with the coulter used for stiff soil. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 162.

Pappan (*Gâḍî*) : a rainbow. Cf. *dhanak*.

Pâpri : a kind of sweet. Hissâr.

Parâch : also called *ovâri*, grain, *e.g.* wheat, barley, maize, *bathu and kangni* or any of these in small quantities, offered to a *deota* on the Shankrânt days by his devotees. *Kodâ, mâsh, uṛad* are not included in a *parâch*.

Pârachhâ : beam. Sirmûr cis-Giri.

Parah : *panchâyat*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 175.

Parâl : (1) rice straw. (2) the outer door of a house, leading from the *ângan* or inner yard. Kângra Gloss.

Paras : the common room in a village in which a traveller, who has no friends, puts up (used in the south of Karnâl. Cf. *chaupâl*). Karnâl S. R., p. 106.

Parât : a large brass plate. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Parchânnâ : to divert, turn away from, mix up, satisfy, pacify.

Pardhân : adj., chief, principal.

Paren : a goad for driving bullocks, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Pâri : a slip with two knots into which a seed cane is cut. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 181.

Pariband : a bracelet with a hinge and bar fastening.

Parlor : a pigeon. Bauria *argot*.

Parna : a fish (*Wallago attu*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Paronâ : to thread (a needle).

Parr : an open grassy slope. Cf. *phât*.

Parren : a handful of grain. Kàngra Gloss.

Parsân : a ladder : see *sâng*.

Pârû : an earthen pot. Jubbal.

Parwa : the east or cold damp wind, which is the abomination of the cultivators. Karnâl, S. R., 1872-80, p. 167.

Parwâ : an oblong house, with mud walls and thatched roof. Cf. *chhappar*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 158.

Pasel : a long low embankment. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 234.

Passi : a soil in which the sand is very near the surface. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 94.

Pasu : s. m., cattle.

Paswaj : a cotton gown of very light texture, almost approaching to muslin, and made of various gay colours. Kângra S. R. (Barnes), p. 45.

Pat : a young female goat : *patlu*, a young male—up to 2 years old—see under *bakri*.

Pat : the beam to which the oxen are fastened in a sugar press. Kârnal S. R., 1872-80, p. 161.

Pât : a waist-string of silk, for fastening a small cloth between the legs. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Patâjan : Putranjiva roxburghii ; a tree. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 13.

Pâtak : the impurity till the 13th day after the death of a person. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 137.

Patâknâ : to clean, sift anything. Kângra Gloss.

Patân : a place of ambush, in which to sit at night, to shoot game on a tree or in a pit, Kângra Gloss.

Patân : a stretched string which the watchers of the fields of the great millets jerk so as to swing the great plants about and frighten the birds. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 172.

Pâtan : a pair of shoes. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Paṭbijnû : s. m., a fire-fly.

Pâtha : a thick, round, conical-shaped continuation of the nose let into a notch in the latter, and secured by the coulter, which passes through it. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 162.

Paṭhan lag-gaya : "the good foundation of the well has been reached". Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 98.

Pathar : a mango fruit, supposed to be like a stone (*pathar*) in weight and the hardness of its skin. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Pathiali : the same as the *maira* land, but with a larger proportion of clay ; it gives wonderful crops with good rain, but is liable to fail in dry years. It is, in fact, much the same as the *rohi* land. Cf. *moti* and *rara*. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Pathrâkal : stony and sandy land. Cf. *bâti*. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Paththa : a weight = 4 *thâkurîs*. Jubbal.

Patiânâ : to sooth. Kângra Gloss.

Pâtli: a camel ailment; the nose gets filled with blood so that the animal cannot breathe properly: Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 306.

Patli dhâtî: a curved knife with a wooden handle. Jullundur S. R., p. 61.

Patra pherna: the ceremony of changing the stools at a wedding. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 134.

Patrâhnâ: to go barefoot. Kângra Gloss.

Patrishta: a ceremony observed on the completion of a house in Kângra.

Patroru: (1) a round cake made of flour and water with salt and cummin and spices spread on *bhaiji* or leaves (*Colocasia antiquorum*): (2) a festival held on 1st Bhâdon at which pulse and bread are eaten with *patrorû*: Churâh. Flour and water with salt, spices, etc., mixed are spread on leaves, which are then folded and the whole is eaten on the *patroru ki, sankrânt* in honour of ancestors.

Patta: a woollen garment. Sirmûr, cis-Girî.

Patta: the money taken by the bride's relations from the bridegroom's father, out of which the village menials then and there receive their fixed dues. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 132.

Patta chogâî: lit. 'leaf-cropping'; the term applied in Barâ Bangâhal to the tax paid by shepherds for their sheep-runs. Kângra Gloss.

Pattar: earrings worn by Musalmân women. Cf. *baliyân*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 157

Patti: a field. Cf. *pattû*. Kângra Gloss.

Patti kunja: a stake net. Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Pattu: a small field. Cf. *patti*.

Pattû-vand: see *tarophlâ*.

Patyârî = *suhâg*. Koti.

Pâûlî: a sort of ante-room. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 158.

Paundh: war-tax. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 33.

Pawâdh: a rich soil. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 6.

Pechi: a band of silver tinsel tied over the turban of the bridegroom when dressed in wedding garb. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 129.

Peina: ? **paina**: a quarter of a *bher*, *q. v.*,

Peindî: a stepping-stone = *chûra*.

Pendi: a recess in the wall used as a shelf. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Penta: a standing place on either side of a small pool. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 171.

Peod: the seedlings of rice taken by *Jhînwars* and *Chamârs* for planting after the *sohâga* has worked up the mud into a fine pulp. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 185.

Pera: a small and very sweet mango fruit, supposed to be in shape and taste like the sweet meat *pera*. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Perauti: (sic) fallow and arable waste land. Cf. *chechar*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83. p. 167.

Peri: an early yellow maize. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 184.

Peria: the man who feeds the press with cane, opening out the canes in the press with an iron spike, and driving new canes well in by beating them on the top with a leather glove faced with iron. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 182.

Peru: see *pal*.

Pesî: a small cake of *gur*. Jullundur S. R., p. 120.

Petâra: a basket for keeping clothes. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 42.

Petî: an offering of flour, ghî and sweets offered to a deity. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 145.

Phaḍḍ: the gums.

Phailnâ: v. n., to spread.

Phakka: young locust. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 255.

Phakku : threshing floor ; the word is also applied to the fees of the *chaukîdâr*, carpenter or blacksmith given thence.

Phala : the frame-work drawn by bullocks treading out corn. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 72.

Phali : door panel. Sirmûr cis-Giri.

Phaliâ : a path or passage through the hedge round a house.

Phalna : to give a he-buffalo to a she-buffalo. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 195.

Phalsa : a village-gate. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 169.

Phalur : a stack of straw. Cf. *kundalî*.

Phaman : a very tall variety of wheat growing to a height of 4 or 5 feet in good well land The grain is large but said to be hard and not good for flour. Cf. *badkanak*. Ludhiana S. R. 1878-83, p. 113.

Phânt : sowing the seed broadcast. Cf. *khindâna*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Pharkâl : a stone step. Sirmûr trans-Giri.

Pharkion : wooden floor of the first storey. Sirmûr trans-Giri.

Pharṛnâ : to catch, seize.

Pharojâna : to go away. Bauria *argot*.

Pharṛaru : a hare. Kângra Gloss.

Pharṛhâ : adj. twisted by warping (of wood).

Phât, parr : an open grassy slope on the side of a big mountain.

Phatti : a knife used in threshing sugar-cane. Cf. *tukkal*. Jullundur S. R., p. 108.

Phera : a handful of corn in the ear, which a blacksmith gets every time he goes out to the fields at harvest time to sharpen the sickle. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 61.

Phera-ghera : bringing home the bride for good and all to her husband's house (the *muklâwa* of the plains). Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 70.

Phissî : a snake (*Echis carinata*). Jullundur S. R , p. 12.

Phitora : evil eye. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 165.

Phoglu : a lot, cast with marked goat's droppings. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Phraggara : light, (adj.) as of dawn, or of a candle in a dark room. Kângra Gloss.

Phuglu : a species of bamboo. *P. Dicty.*, p. 898. Kângra S. R., p. 20.

Phûk-pholû : a tenant, probably so-called because his tenancy only afforded livelihood for a single soul : Pâlam. = atholu, Kângra S. R., (Lyall), p. 44.

Phûl : the knuckle-bones and other small fragments of bone of a burnt person. Karnâ S. R., 1872-80, p. 137.

Phulam : a kind of grain Churâh.

Phulgir : *lit.* king of flowers, the pheasant, commonly known as the argus. In Kulu he is called the *jijurâna*, *lit.* prince of animals.

Phulhâr = { Siul : a kind of grain
Indian corn } and some other grains.

The grain is roasted and eaten on fast days by Hindus. Churâh.

Phulrî : consent or assent, to betrothal. *Phakhi diti*=has given a promise. Pangwâl.

Phulserî : a variety of cobra snake. Jullundur S. R , p. 12.

Phurakna : the first mouthful of rice milk, spit on the field of cotton towards the west by the women who go round it for picking. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 183.

Piâzî : a tree (*Asphodelus fistulosus*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Pichwâra : the back of a house : opposed to *channâ*.

Pîda : a small stool made of wooden frame, and covered with netted string. Cf. *khatola*, Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Pih : the stratum on which the cylinder of the well rests. Jullundur S. R., p. 101.

Pihî : the privilege of driving cattle to another village for making them drink water from its pond or well. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 302.

Pij : the Himalayan chamois ; in books called *gural*. In Kulu it is called *gurad*. Kângra Gloss.

Pila : a variety of wheat ; the best of all. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 189.

Pilak : a very coarse cakey soil, almost barren and worse even than sand. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 94.

Pilî : a variety of *jowâr* ; it gives a sweet large grain, but is delicate. Cf. *alâpûrî*. Karnâl. S. R., 1872-80, p. 186.

Pilîphati : dawn. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 122.

Pinan : a large double-stringed bow with which ginned cotton is scutched. Cf. *dhunka*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 183.

Pînjri : a bier. Cf. *arti*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 136.

Pirâ : a wooden stool. Sirmûr trans-Giri.

Pira : a small stool. Cf. *pîda*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Pironda : a silk cord used for tying a woman's hair. Sirmûr.

Piṭṭnâ : v. n. to be beaten.

Poh : to bury. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 150. Hârni *argot*.

Poli : unleavened bread ; see under *bhatoru*.

Ponâi : sifting grain from chaff in a sieve. Kângra Gloss.

Porâ : an oblong room in front of the house : Sirmûr cis-Giri..

Poshâki : an annual allowance of Rs. 20 to 30 given to a selected lambardâr, Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 81.

Potia : a turban. Bauria *argot*.

Prikamma : circum ambulating an *amsa* Tree from left to right in Phâgan : Karnâl S. R. 1872-80, p. 157.

Pukarnâ = *pakarnâ* : to help.

Pula : grass of the *sar*.

Pûlej : land cultivated every harvest. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 167.

Pulan : a kind of grain, = *phulan*. Churâh.

Pûli : a bundle of corn (about 8 *sêrs kacha*) given to *kamîns* at reaping time.

Pumba : the man who scutches the ginned cotton. Cf. *teli*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 183.

Pûn : an assigned grain assessment. Spitî. Kângra S. R., p. 114.

Pund : a heavier description of *begâr* or *corvee* than the *satbahak* (*q. v.*).

Pundal : melon (*Trichosanthes anguina*). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Punia : full moon — usually a fast. Chamba.

Punja : raw fibre. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 199.

Punke : a small white insect that attacks full-grown cane. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 126.

Purâli : the straw of rice. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 185.

Purâli : rice-straw. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 281.

Pûrat : a square enclosure of flour made at a wedding by a Brahman on fresh plastered ground. Cf. *mandal*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 130.

Râgi : a synonym for *mandwa*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 187.

Râhan, râhî : ploughed.

Rahn : indigestion. Hissâr.

Rai : churn-stick. Cf. *mandhâni*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 159.

Rajâoli jâtra: a *jâtra* held only once in the life-time of a chief, when he ascends his ancestral *gaddi*. Kot Ishwar Deota is taken all over Kumhârsain and stays in each *pargana* for 3 or 4 days. He does not go to *parganas* Kandru and Sheoul but in all the other *parganas* from village to village the *deota* is taken for a Rajâwali Jatra. The Jawâlâ Jatrâ is held in Shadoch only. See Jawâlâ Jatrâ.

Rakar: the dry sloping land cut up by water action. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Rakar: a thin coating of soil on a substratum of sand (in Dasûya). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Rakhorar: 'kept,' opposed to *biotar*, *q. v.* a mistress, a woman living with a man as his wife without marriage.

Rakkar: stony or hard dry land.

(*To be continued*)

MISCELLANEA.

MELANGES D'INDIANISME.

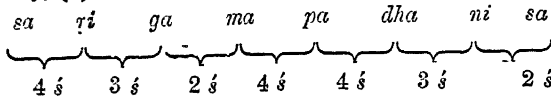
Professor Sylvain Levi stands in the forefront of Indianists. His masterly *Theatre Indiane* has long been out of print. His *Doctrine of Sacrifice in the Brâhmaṇas* will not soon be superseded. In the province of Buddhism few can speak with greater authority. His great achievements lie in Chinese Buddhism, of which he has shown the signal importance in his brilliant critique of the *Sûtrâlaṁkâra* and a number of essays in various magazines; some of which, like the formation of the *Divyâvadâna* and *Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde*, are of most striking originality, demonstrating the necessity of examining the Chinese translations of Sanskrit Buddhistic works. As his own pupil, *Huber*, has proved, it is not seldom that the much-vaunted antique Pali literature finds not only its complement, but often its corrective in the huge mass of Chinese writings.

On the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his connection with the *Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, his pupils and friends recently offered Professor Sylvain Levi, a Miscellany of papers on India and Further-India, all of which are of special interest to us in India. Dr. Miss Bode, the author of the *Pali Literature of Burma*, contributes a study of the legend of *Raṭhapâla* in the Pali *Apadâna* and *Buddhaghosha* commentary. Jules Bloch treats of the Greek equivalents of Indian proper names and names of things, and explains the difference in the Greek modes of transcription by the proved supposition of numerous dialects in India. There is a suggestive demonstration that Kâṭhiâwaṛ was more conservative in its language than the Deccan. Blonay has a brief paper on the Buddhist deity Târâ. Grammont gives us a very interesting essay on the metathesis in Pali and shows the diversity of the various dialects grouped together under the general name of Pali. The relationship between the Slavonian and Iranian languages is touched upon by Cuny, and one looks forward to further contributions on the subject from the author. On the same lines is the inquiry pursued by Ernout, who brings out the affinity of the Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic tongues. Social India, according to the *Sabhâ-parva*[1], is shown us by Roussel. The section on women presents a picture hardly to the taste of those who sigh for the golden age of the past. The Bengali translator has not slurred over the *ślokas*. I have elsewhere shown the injustice of charging the Moslems with the introduction of the Zenana system into India. Either Draupadî's lament was untrue or in ancient India a *parda* system was in force, the vigour of which it is difficult to speak with exaggeration. Perhaps the most fascinating paper in the collection is the one entitled *Raonano Rao*, by Ghauthiot, who traces through pages of sustained brilliance, the origin of the Buddhist title to the Achæmenide King-of-Kings. Incidentally, we learn the importance and extent of Pahlavi as used by the Indo-Scythian rulers like Kanishka, who was to judge from his religious symbolism was as much an Irânian as a Buddhist. The *Divyâvadâna* will continue to engage the

[1] Indians of the old school, like the present writer, find it hard to adapt themselves to the new-fangled *Parvan* and *daṇḍin*. It is not advocated that the nominative singular form should be rigidly adhered to; the unfamiliar base-form is almost, though not quite, as fantastic as the favourite *Buddho* of some puritanic Palists.

(2) Secondly, it is wrong to infer that the Hindus had the *enharmonic* genus of the Greeks or anything similar to it, because they unanimously reckon twenty-two *śrutis* in their octave. In the *Preliminary Remarks* above, the European scale is given in cents, twelve hundred being reckoned in the octave; but it would be absurd to argue therefrom that the Europeans have a genus in which the notes ascend by single cents.

(3) Thirdly, (*a*) thinking that the scheme of the scale as given by Sanskrit authors was



which is an error, as will be shown presently, and (*b*) finding the *prevailing* Hindu scale and the modern European major scale indistinguishable,[20] and (*c*) noticing three sorts of intervals in the classical Hindu scale,[21] and (*d*) observing them (owing to his erroneous scheme of the scale) to occupy, as regards their comparative magnitudes, the same places as the major tone, the minor tone, and the semitone in the European scale, except in one instance (*viz.*, the interval between the fifth and the sixth), Sir W. Jones naturally succumbed to the temptation of looking upon the two scales as quite identical, and made the *assertions* that the four-, three-, and two-*śrutis* intervals were respectively the major tone, the minor tone and the semitone. But the three-*śrutis* interval was a stumbling block. As this interval was identified with a tone, a *śruti* had to be considered as a third of a tone; at the same time, the four-*śrutis* interval being looked upon as a major tone, a *śruti* had also to be supposed to be equivalent to a quarter of a tone. If the value of a *śruti*, however, be admitted to be thus uncertain, of what use could such a variable standard be? If an inch be sometimes a twelfth of the foot and sometimes only a sixteenth, how could it ever be of use as a measuring unit? Sir W. Jones seems to have thought that he had effectually got out of the dilemma by saying:—"they do not pretend that those minute intervals are mathematically equal, but consider them as equal in practice." He seems to be unconscious of the fact that we cannot possibly consider a quarter-tone and a third of a tone as equal in practice, and choose either indifferently as the equivalent of a *śruti* in the classical Hindu scale and yet make the scale coincide with the European. Thus, if we suppose a *śruti* to be a quarter of a major tone, *i.e.*, 51 cents (see above), the value of the three-, and two-*śrutis* intervals will respectively be 153 and 102 cents, that is, even though the two-*śrutis* interval may be allowed to pass as practically equal to the diatonic semitone of 112 cents, the three-*śrutis* interval cannot be taken as equal to the minor tone of 182 cents. On the other hand, if we take a *śruti* as a third of a minor tone, *i.e.*, 61 cents, the four- and two-*śrutis* intervals will respectively be 244 and 122 cents; and here again even though we considered the two-*śrutis* interval as practically equal to the diatonic semitone of 112 cents, the same cannot be said of the four-*śrutis* interval and the major tone of 204 cents.[22] But the amount of error becomes still more pronounced, when we remember (as will be pointed out later on) that the old Sanskrit musicians were much more concerned about their just[23] fourths and fifths than about their seconds, and when accordingly we find their value on the hypothesis of Sir W. Jones.

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[20] I have allowed the two scales to be *practically* the same, but when anybody wishes to establish the identity in detail, as for instance with regard to major and minor tones, he must produce stronger experimental evidence than Sir W. Jones has done.

[21] Hereafter I shall use the name 'classical Hindu scale' to mean the (*Shaḍja*) scale given in Sanskrit treatises. The term 'ancient or old scale' is not suitable, for even in modern Sanskrit books it continued to be taken as the standard, though there is reason to believe that it was not the *prevailing* scale, which in its turn could, of course, be expressed in terms of the standard. I know of Sanskrit books on music composed in the last few years in which the classical Hindu scale is taken as the standard, though it is no longer the standard in practice.

[22] As will be seen hereafter, the fact is that a *śruti* must be looked upon as practically invariable, like all other standards, with the result that the classical Hindu scale cannot be the same as the European one, even allowing that Sir W. Jones' scheme of the former as given above is correct.

[23] All the fourths and fifths of the classical scale are not just, only those with the intervals of nine and thirteen *śrutis* respectively being allowed to be so (*vide seq.*).

		Value of the Fourth in cents.	Value of the Fifth in cents.
Just	...	498	702
Acc. to Sir W. Jones	When 1 *śruti* = ¼ major tone = 51 cents ...	459	663
	When 1 *śruti* = 1/3 minor tone = 60 2/3 cents.	546	789
Acc. to Sanskrit writers	When 1 *śruti* = 1/22 octave = 54 6/11 cents ...	491	709

A glance at the table shows that whereas in the Hindu system of 22 *śrutis* in the octave, the error amounts to only 7 cents or about a third of a *comma*, on Sir W. Jones' *assumptions* it is six to twelve times as great.

(4) So great is the anxiety of Sir William to establish the identity of the classical Hindu and the European major scale that, though in accordance with his (erroneous) scheme of the former he is forced to admit that the interval between the fifth and the sixth in that scale is a major tone whereas it is a minor tone in the other, he proceeds to add—"their sixth, I imagine, is almost universally diminished by one *śruti*" [thus making the two scales coincide]; "for he [Somanâtha] only mentions two modes, in which all the seven notes are *unaltered*." Now even admitting that according to Somanâtha, there are only two modes in which all the seven notes are unaltered,[24] how does it follow that in almost all the remaining modes the sixth is altered? To take an extreme view, the statement of Somanâtha can be quite correct without a single one of the remaining *râgas* having an altered sixth, the alterations being confined to one or more of the other notes. Sir W. Jones' imagination that the sixth of the classical Hindu scale is 'almost universally diminished by one *śruti*,' is a mere assertion, which he makes in order to uphold his preconceived notion of the identity of the two scales, but for the support of which he has produced no evidence.[25]

(5) Lastly comes the most serious error of all, which is in fact the source of all the others. Sir W. Jones would have found, if he had been a little more careful, that he had made a mistake in assigning proper places to the groups of *śrutis*. All Sanskrit treatises clearly give the following as the scheme of the *shadja-grâma* :—

[*ni*] *sa* *ri* *ga* *ma* *pa* *dha* *ni* [*sa*]
4 *ś* 3 *ś* 2 *ś* 4 *ś* 4 *ś* 3 *ś* 2 *ś* 4 *ś*
Correct scheme of the *shadja-grâma*.

But Sir W. Jones made the mistake of putting *after* the notes the different groups of *śrutis* attached to them, whereas according to rules they ought to have been put *before* them. Thus he wrongly represented the scheme as follows :—

sa *ri* *ga* *ma* *pa* *dha* *ni* *sa*
4 *ś* 3 *ś* 2 *ś* 4 *ś* 4 *ś* 3 *ś* 2 *ś*
Sir W. Jones' incorrect scheme of the *shadja-grâma*.

This great error together with the others mentioned above, of which it was the source, has found its way in the writings of all subsequent authors, among whom are Sir W. Ouseley, Mr. J. D. Paterson, W. C. Stafford, Capt. Willard, Col. French, Carl Engel, Râjâ S. M. Tagore, J. Grosset, A. J. Ellis,[26] A. W. Ambros[27] and Capt. Day, to mention only the most important. This propagation of error was quite natural, as most of the writers were ignorant of Sanskrit. But they re-iterated the words of Sir W Jones with so much force and perseverance, and with such an appearance of independent research that a conscientious scholar like M. J. Grosset, who was the

[24] Somanâtha defines only two *râgas* viz. *mukhârî* and *turushka-todî* with all seven notes unaltered (R. V. iv.8), but he admits the existence of other *râgas* with similarly unaltered notes (R. V. iii. 32). At the same time the student of the R. V. will easily see that the unaltered notes according to Somanâtha are quite different from those according to Sir W. Jones.

[25] In the correct scheme of the classical Hindu scale given below, it will be seen that the interval between *pa* and *dha* is only three *śrutis* and not four as Sir W. Jones made out.

[26] In his translation of *Helmholtz's Sensations of Tone,* 3rd edition, p. 521.

[27] *Geschichte der Musik.*

first to go back to the most ancient of Sanskrit treatises on music, was actually misled by them. This was very unfortunate, as he thereby missed the opportunity of correcting the prevalent error, and actually thought Bharata to be wrong in certain places, where he was quite correct.[28] Thus finding the order of *śrutis* given in the Bh. different from that given by Sir W. Jones, he thought that the discrepancy was probably due to the exigency of the metre.[29] The first person to detect the error was Râjâ S. M. Tagore, who had himself previously given currency to it in his own writings.[30] But, unfortunately, instead of acknowledging it as such, he tries to defend it and in doing so falls into fresh errors.[31] Thus he says : " In the arrangement of the *Śrutis*, modern usage is diametrically opposite to the classical one ; the latter placing them before the Notes to which they respectively belong, while the former fix their position after the Notes. Supposing a cypher to represent a *Śruti*, the classical arrangement would be like this :—

0000	000	00	0000	0000	000	00
sa	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*

The modern arrangement is as follows:—

0000	000	00	0000	0000	000	00
sa	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*

" It is difficult to determine when or by whom the alteration in the arrangement was effected. The arrangement of the frets on the *Vinâ* and other stringed instruments accords with the modern acceptation of the principle. It will be seen from a look at these instruments, that, in them *Gândhâra* and *Nishâda*, each of which has two *Śrutis*, and is called in European music a semitone, have, between themselves and the succeeding notes, half the space that is allotted to those having four *Śrutis* ; and following the same method, *Ṛishabha* and *Dhaivata*, have, with reference to the next succeeding *Notes*, each a fourth less than that of *Shaḍja*, *Madhyama*, and *Panchama* (each of which has four *Śrutis*). According to a rule laid down in the classical treatises, the disposition of the notes is reversed in the case of *Dáravi* (literally, wooden, *i. e.*, stringed) instruments, and out of this reversed arrangement, perhaps, the modern theory about the arrangement of the position of the *Śrutis* has been evolved." Then in a footnote he adds :—" Capt. Willard, Sir W. Jones, and other eminent writers, who had carefully studied the principles of Indian Music and were practically acquainted with it, adopted the modern disposition of the *Śrutis*."

Now in this passage the only statements which are correct are (1) that the classical arrangement of the *śrutis* in the *shaḍja-grâma* is as given there, and not as was given by former writers and by the Râja himself in his previous works and (2) that in the classical arrangement the semitones were between *ṛi* and *ga*, and between *dha* and *ni*,[32] and that in the modern arrangement they are between *ga* and *ma*, and between *ni* and *sa*. All else is wrong. He had no right to assert that the erroneous scheme was 'the modern acceptation of the principle,' without quoting his authority for it. Then he adds that the modern arrangement of the frets on the *vîṇâ* and other stringed instruments accords with it, for, he says, that if the space between the frets *sa* and *ṛi*, *ma* and *pa*, and *pa* and *dha* be taken as four units, that between the frets *ṛi* and *ga*, and *dha* and *ni* is three, and that between *ga* and *ma*, and *ni* and *sa* two. I need hardly remark that all this is quite

[28] J. Grosset—*Contrib. à l'Étude de la Musique Hindoue*, p. 84, notes 27 and 28.

[29] *Opus cit.* p. 85, note 34.

[30] '*Hindu Music*' 1874 ; *Six Principal Rágas*, 2nd edition, 1877.

[31] *Musical Scales of the Hindus*, 1884, pp. 93-94.

[32] The reader should note carefully that I say that the semitones were between *ri* and *ga*, and *dha* and *ni*, and *not* between the second and third notes, and the sixth and seventh notes, respectively, because, as will be pointed out hereafter, the classical *sa* was not the first of the scale *in the same sense* as the present day *sa* is.

wrong, as anybody with some acquaintance of the elements of acoustics can easily see.[33] The same sort of gross mistake had been committed previously by J. D. Paterson,[34] with this difference that this writer saw that even with his naive rejection of fractions, which he resorted to with apparent success in the first tetrachord *sa—ma*, he could not get anywhere near the numbers he desired in the case of the distances between successive frets of the second tetrachord *pa—sa*, and had recourse to the very ingenious suggestion that 'as they considered the 2nd Tetrachord as perfectly similar to the first, they probably made use of the same numbers to express that similitude.' Verily scholarship must have been comfortably unexacting in those happy old days!

There is thus absolutely no basis for Râjâ S. M. Tagore's fancied modern arrangement of the *śrutis*, there being no authority for it. Nor does the observed difference in the position of the semitones in the classical and the modern scales stand in need of such an hypothesis, as it is capable of more than one other explanation as will be seen hereafter. But in putting forward a probable explanation of the supposed displacement of the *śrutis*, the writer says: 'According to a rule laid down in the classical treatises, the disposition of the notes is reversed in the case of *Dâravi* (literally, wooden, *i. e.*, stringed) instruments, and out of this reversed arrangement, perhaps, the modern theory about the arrangement of the position of the *śrutis* has been evolved.' As usual the Râjâ does not quote his authority, but it seems certain that he is referring to the lines

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33 If we suppose with the Râjâ the length of the string producing *sa* to be 90 inches, then theoretically the lengths giving the succeeding seven notes of the octave [on the Râjâ's *assumptions* about (1) the disposition of the *śrutis* in the modern Hindu scale and (2) the values of the three sorts of intervals being a major tone, a minor tone and a diatonic semitone] will be 80, 72, 67½, 60, 53⅓, 48 and 45 inches respectively, and the difference in lengths of strings will be as shown in the following table:—

4 *śrutis*	*sa* and *ri*	10 inches
	ma and *pa*	7½ ,,
	pa and *dha*	6⅔ ,,
3 *śrutis*	*ri* and *ga*	8 inches
	dha and *ni*	5⅓ ,,
2 *śrutis*	*ga* and *ma*	4½ inches.
	ni and *sa*	3 ,,

A mere glance at the table shows the error of the Râjâ's statement. The fact is that there is a radical error in representing musical intervals by *differences* in the lengths of strings producing the notes. The correct way to represent them is by means of *quotients* of the respective lengths. Thus the 4-*śrutis* intervals above are $\frac{90}{80} = \frac{67\frac{1}{2}}{60} = \frac{60}{53\frac{1}{3}} = \frac{9}{8}$; 3-*śrutis* $\frac{80}{72} = \frac{53\frac{1}{3}}{48} = \frac{10}{9}$; 2-*śrutis* $\frac{72}{67\frac{1}{2}} = \frac{48}{45} = \frac{16}{15}$. See the *Preliminary Remarks* above.

34 *On the Grâmas or Musical Scales of the Hindus* (*Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX*), reprinted in Tagore's *Hindu Music from Various Authors*, and quoted in Capt. Day's *The Music and Musical Instruments of S. India and the Deccan*. What J. D. Paterson says amounts to this:—The *madhyama-grâma* is formed from the *shadja-grâma* (see Sir W. Jones' scheme above) by flattening *dha* by one *śruti*, which thus becomes identical with the major mode of European diatonic scale (of course, according to the wrong notions of that author and Sir W Jones). Now take a sounding string 44 units in length between the nut and the bridge: then half the length or 22 units will give the octave of the open string, representing the 22 *śrutis*. The lengths for the different notes will theoretically be as follows:—

Note	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8 or octave.
Length of string ...	44		$44 \times \frac{8}{9}$		$44 \times \frac{4}{5}$		$44 \times \frac{3}{4}$		$44 \times \frac{2}{3}$		$44 \times \frac{3}{5}$		$44 \times \frac{8}{15}$		$44 \times \frac{1}{2}$
Difference in length of strings of successive notes.		$4\frac{8}{9}$		$3\frac{41}{45}$		$2\frac{1}{5}$		$3\frac{2}{3}$		$2\frac{14}{15}$		$2\frac{14}{15}$		$1\frac{7}{15}$	

Reject the fractions of the first three differences, says Mr. Paterson, and you have the figures 4, 3, and 2 respectively, the number of *śrutis* supposed to be there by the Hindu musicians. But the remaining figures do not fit in, even with the extreme liberality with which the reader has been asked to reject fractions, and the author has, therefore, recourse to the ingenious suggestion given above. Not to mention the hugeness of fractions omitted, it will be at once seen that the writer's way of representing musical intervals is radically wrong (see the last footnote).

एवं शारीरवीणायां दारव्यां तु विपर्ययः । and in that case it is evident that he has misinterpreted them, probably because he had not before him the context. The passage runs as follows :—

इति वस्तुस्थितिस्तावद्दात्रे त्रेधा भवेदसौ । [असौ नादः]
हृदि मन्द्रो गले मध्यो मूर्ध्नि तार इति क्रमात् ॥
द्विगुणः पूर्वपूर्वस्मादयं स्यादुत्तरोत्तरः ।
एवं शारीरवीणायां दारव्यां तु विपर्ययः ॥ (*Samgîta-darpaṇa* I. 49-50)

It simply means that in the case of the 'body-vîṇâ' the pitch rises as you go higher and higher (thus it is low in the chest, middle in the throat, and high in the head),[35] whereas it is just the reverse in the case of a wooden *vîṇâ*, that is to say the pitch rises as you go lower and lower on the instrument. The reader will at once see that this has no connection whatsoever with the supposed sliding of the *śrutis*.

Again, when the author proceeds to defend 'Capt. Willard, Sir W. Jones, and other eminent writers' by saying that they 'adopted the modern disposition of the *Srutis*', he is not adhering to facts ; for a reference to the writings of Sir W. Jones will show that he was writing on the authority of Sanskrit treatises, none of which speak of the so-called 'modern disposition of the *Śrutis*.'

Lastly, it is curious to note that even when the Râjâ has made the discovery of the correct arrangement of the *śrutis* in the classical scale and published it in his *Musical Scales of the Hindus*, he gives in the Supplement to the same work a drawing, said to be executed for him by a European friend, which, though labelled '*The Primitive Sanskrit Sharja-grâma*,' is nothing more or less than Sir W. Jones' original misinterpretation of that scale.[36]

In all this confusion of assumptions and assertions without authority or evidence, it is a relief to find one writer take a correct view of the nature of the *śrutis*. Mr. R. H. M. Bosanquet[37] reveals a wonderful clearness of vision when he writes :—' Are the *śrutis* all equal in value ? The native writers say nothing about this, but the European ones for the most part suggest that they are not. For instance, an English reviewer recently wrote, " A *śruti* is a quarter tone or a third of a tone according to its position in the scale." This appears to be a misapprehension arising from the modern idea that each interval of a tone in the scale is necessarily the same. But the language in which the different forms of the scale is [? are] described distinctly indicates that a note rises or falls when it gains or loses a Śruti ; consequently we may infer that the Śrutis are intended to be equal in a general sort of way, probably without any very great precision.'[38] But so great was the influence of the writings of Sir W. Jones (probably because he was a Sanskrit scholar) and Râjâ S. M. Tagore (probably because he was a Hindu writer) that one need not be surprised at the following criticism on his paper by Capt. Day, who happens to be neither :— ' This calculation of Mr. Bosanquet's was made on the assumption that all the srutis were equal. That such could not have been in reality the case, or that the employment of the system of twenty-two never entered practically into Indian music, would seem to be from all evidence almost certain.

[35] Of course, this is the Hindu belief, according to which low-pitched notes proceed from the chest, those of middle pitch from the throat, and those of high pitch from the head.

[36] *On the Musical Modes of the Hindus* (*Works* Vol. IV, p. 188 ; reprinted in *Hindu Music from Various Authors*, 2nd edn. p. 141.)

[37] *On the Hindu Division of the Octave, etc.* Jan. 1877 (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*), quoted in Tagore's *Hindu Music from Various Authors* 2nd, edition.

[38] The perfect truth of this inference will be evident in the sequel, where it will be established on the authority of Sanskrit treatises.

'This will be more evident by a reference to the following comparative diagram of the primitive Sanskrit shadja-gráma and the European diatonic scale, as drawn for the Râjah Sir S. M. Tagore, and published in his work upon the "Musical Scales of the Hindus" from data supplied by the ancient treatises, the measurements being those of a string 90 inches long[39].'

'The only difference, it will be seen, is in the fact that the sixth is in the European diatonic scale flatter than in the ancient one; so that the ancient Sanskrit sixth had apparently the same ratio, theoretically, as the Pythagorean sixth of the Greeks.'

Of course, Capt. Day is under a delusion when he says that the Raja's diagram was drawn 'from data supplied by the ancient treatises.' It is, as I have said above, nothing more or less than Sir W. Jones' original misinterpretation of the *shaḍja-grâma*.[40]

Capt. Day was not the only person who was thus misled. Others were similarly led into error, the most notable of whom was Mr. A. J. Ellis, who writes as follows[41]:—[Scales] 'Nos. 73 and 74 are an attempt to represent the Indian Chromatic Scale from indications in Rajah Sourindro Mohun Tagore's *Musical Scales of the Hindus*, Calcutta, 1884, and the *Annuaire du Conservatoire de Bruxelles*, 1878, pp. 161-169, the latter having been drawn up by Mons. V. Mahillon from information furnished by the Rajah. As regards the 7 *fixed* notes (*prakritā*) of the *C* scale (*sharja grâma*), *C, D, E, F, G, A* (a comma sharper than our A_1),[42] *B*, there seems to be no doubt of the theoretical values. As to the 12 *changing* notes (*vikritā*), the values given can be considered only as approximative. The division of the intervals of a major Tone of 204 cents into 4 degrees (*śrutis*); of a minor tone of 182 cents into 3 degrees; and of a Semitone of 112 cents into 2 degrees, as indicated by the superscribed numbers, is also certain.[43] But whether the 4 parts of a whole Tone were equal and each 51 cents, and the three parts of a minor Tone were also equal and each equal to $60\frac{2}{3}$ cents, and the two parts of a Semitone were also equal and each therefore 56 cents, is quite uncertain.' Mr. A. J. Hipkins, who worked with Mr. A. J. Ellis in examining an Indian *vîṇâ*, and the *śruti-vîṇâ* imagined by Râjâ S. M. Tagore, shows a clearer insight into the matter, when, in a communication to Capt. Day,[44] he remarks that the Indian scale intervals ought to be understood as they are explained by native writers—namely, as a tone, a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone and a $\frac{1}{2}$-tone, composed of 4, 3 and 2 śrutis respectively.[45] Besides Mr. Bosanquet he seems to be the only person who grasped the truth amidst groundless erroneous assertions. Unfortunately as regards the disposition of the *śrutis* in the scale he is unaware of the mistake made by previous writers, to which I have so often referred, and accepts it, together with its unfailing accompaniment of a *dha*, sharper by a comma than the *A* of the European scale of just intonation.

39 I have omitted the diagram.

40 In justice to the Râjâ himself it must be admitted that he does not claim that the diagram was drawn 'from data supplied by the ancient treatises', and in equal justice to Capt. Day it must be remarked that the Râjâ unfortunately writes in a manner, which suggests that he has got the ancient Sanskrit treatises at his back in what he has to say. Thus in the present instance the adjectives 'Primitive Sanskrit' applied to the scale probably misled Capt. Day.

41 In his translation of Helmholtz's work, 3rd edition, p. 521.

42 The reader will at once recognise in this the same ghost, which was originally raised by Sir W. Jones and subsequently owned and exhibited by Râjâ S. M. Tagore, only clothed in language of apparently greater precision. For, Sir W. Jones thought the interval between *pa* and *dha* to be a major tone, whereas that between *G* and *A* (to which they were supposed to correspond) is a minor tone, the difference between the two being a comma.

43 This again is simply a re-iteration of Sir W. Jones' error which has been exposed above.

44 *The Music of Southern India*, p. 21.

45 Subject to a correction (which will be explained below) based on the authority of Sanskrit writers themselves.

To sum up, we have :

(1) The erroneous inference that the Hindus had the *enharmonic* genus, because they reckoned twenty-two *śrutis* in the octave.

(2) The original error of Sir W. Jones in placing the various *śrutis* (in the *shaḍja-grâma*) *after* the notes, instead of *before* them, as required by *all* Sanskrit treatises on music.

(3) Sir W. Jones' groundless identification of this erroneous scale with the European Diatonic Scale of just intonation, with the exception of *dha* which was supposed to be a *śruti* sharper. Sir W. Jones further thought, on mistaken grounds, that probably even this difference in the two scales did not exist in practice.

(4) As a result of these errors the two statements made by the writer (1) that a *śruti* was sometimes a quarter tone and sometimes a third of a tone, and (2) that the *śrutis* were equal in practice, without perceiving the contradiction involved therein.

(5) Acceptance of all these erroneous statements by subsequent writers without examination. Only the suggestion that probably the sixth notes even were in practice identical in the two scales was neglected, and the supposed augmentation of *dha* in the *shaḍja-grâma* was so often re-iterated that it came to be believed in as though based on Sanskrit texts. Similarly, the equality of the *śrutis* in practice, vouched for by Sir W. Jones, was lost sight of and only his other statement, *viz.*, that at times a *śruti* was a quarter tone and at others a third of a tone continued to be repeated.

(6) Mr. Paterson's and Râjâ S. M. Tagore's mistaken notion that intervals in *śrutis* between two notes were proportional to the *difference* in the sounding lengths of the string producing the notes.

(7) Recognition by Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. A. J. Hipkins that the *śrutis* were intended to be equal in a general sort of way.

Lastly, in this connection I may mention that quite recently a Hindu writer has been seriously maintaining that a *śruti* is not a unit of measurement at all !

Amidst all this confusion let us see what Sanskrit treatises on music, beginning with the oldest, *viz.*, the *Bhâratiya-nâṭya-śâstra*, say in the matter.

At the very outset it may be remarked that, as noticed by Mr. Bosanquet, even with the information available in his time the *śrutis* must be regarded as 'equal in a general sort of way, probably without any very great precision.' As shown above, it is as absurd to speak of a *śruti* being sometimes a quarter-tone and at others a third of a tone as to say that an inch is sometimes a twelfth of a foot and sometimes a sixteenth. It is possible that quantities to be estimated may be such that they cannot be very accurately measured with the standard unit chosen, but the intention is clear that the standard unit is to be looked upon as invariable. Even Sir W. Jones, with whom originated the notion of the variability of a *śruti*, admitted that the *śrutis* were considered 'as equal in practice.' It seems strange, therefore, that the writers who followed him should have accepted just the wrong notion and ignored the other one. But if anybody be still in doubt about the *śruti* being a unit of measurement and consequently possessed of a fixed value, it ought to be removed by the explicit statement to that effect in the Bh. After giving the constitution of the *shaḍja-grâma* as follows :—

sa		*ri*		*ga*		*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		*sa*
	3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*		4*ś*		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*	

it adds " But in the *madhyamagrâma* the *pañchama* should be diminished by a *śruti*. The magnitude of a *śruti* is the interval due to the sharpening or flattening [produced] by the augmentation

or diminution of the *pañchama* by a *śruti*.'[46] Mataṅga, a much later author, also says the same:—"What indeed is the magnitude of a *śruti*? I tell you. The *pañchama*, now, as belonging to both *grâmas* is known to all. The interval due to the sharpening or flattening by its augmentation or diminution is the magnitude of a *śruti*."[47] Bharata, moreover, proceeds to an exposition of the *śrutis* by means of an illustration, in which he asks the reader to get two exactly similar *vîṇâs*, tuned to the *shaḍja-grâma*, and having the same succession of seven notes (मूर्छना); then "Making one of the two *vîṇâs madhyamagrâmikî* (*i.e.*, converting its tuning to that of the *madhyama-grâma*) lower the *pañchama* by a *śruti*.[48] Under the influence of the (lowered) *pañchama* (*i. e.*, keeping it unchanged) make the very same (*vîṇâ*) *shaḍjagrâmikî* (tuned to the *shaḍja-grâma*).[49] Thus is one *śruti* diminished. Once more do the lowering just in the same way; so will the *gândhâra* and the *nishâda* enter (*i.e.*, come to be in unison with) the *ṛishabha* and the *dhaivata* (respectively) in the other (*vîṇâ*), owing to their being two *śrutis* higher (than these). By lowering again just in the same way, the *dhaivata* and the *ṛishabha* enter (*i.e.*, come to be in unison with) the *pañchama* and the *shaḍja* (respectively), owing to their being three *śrutis* higher (than these). It (the *vîṇâ*) being again lowered in the same way, the *pañchama*, the *madhyama* and the *shaḍja* will enter (*i. e.*, come to be in unison with) the *madhyama*, the *gândhâra* and the *nishâda* (respectively) in the other (*vîṇâ*), owing to their being four *śrutis* higher (than these). Thus by this illustration (or proof) should be understood the twenty-two *śrutis* in the two *grâmas*."[50] From all this it ought to be perfectly

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[46] मध्यमग्रामे तु श्रुत्यपकृष्टः पञ्चमः कार्यः । पञ्चमश्रुत्युत्कर्षादपकर्षाद्वा यदन्तरं मार्दवादायतत्वाद्वा तत्प्रमाणा श्रुतिः । A. If मार्दवम् is 'flattening' and आयतत्वम् is 'sharpening,' the arrangement of these words in this quotation as well as in the next (see footnote below) ought to be reversed. The former word occurs again in the *Bh.* (p. 306, l. 14), and in a quotation from Mataṅga's work in Siṁhabhûpâla's comm. on the *S. R.* (Calcutta edn. p. 68), where it clearly means 'flattening,' and the modern usage is also the same. But in the *Bh.* p. 320, *śloka* 39, we have आयतत्वं तु चेन्नीचं[चे] मृदुत्वं तु विपर्ययम् [° र्यये]। The same *śloka* with a slight variation occurs in the *Nâradî-śikshâ*, and the corrections in the rectangular brackets are according to that authority. The verse, as occurring in the *Bh.*, is out of place and is not found in A. and G.; but according to it, मार्दवम् and आयतत्वम् would mean 'sharpening' and 'flattening' respectively, *i. e.*, just the opposite of what is given above as the meaning. But I have nowhere else found the term मार्दवम् used to signify 'sharpening.'

[47] श्रुतेः प्रमाणमुक्तं मतङ्गेन । ननु श्रुतेः किं मानम् । उच्यते । पञ्चमस्तावद् ग्रामद्वयस्थो लोके प्रसिद्धः । तस्योत्कर्षेणापकर्षणाभ्यां मार्दवादायतत्वाद्वा यदन्तरं तत्प्रमाणश्रुतिरिति । (Siṁhabhûpâla's comm. on the *S. R.*, p. 43, Calcutta).

[48] This could be easily done by making the *pañchama* consonant with the *ṛishabha* (*i. e.*, a just fourth), which it is not in the *shaḍja-grâma* (see below for *consonances*).

[49] Of course, by lowering the pitch of the other strings.

[50] To start with, both *vîṇâs* A and B were tuned to the *shaḍja-grâma*. The tuning of one of them B was changed to that of the *madhyamagrâma* by simply lowering its *pañchama* by the necessary amount (*viz.*, to make it the exact fourth of the *ṛishabha*). This amount of flattening is to be called a *śruti*. Keep this pitch of the *pañchama* constant and convert the tuning of B to that of the *shaḍjagrâma*, which of course, will have to be done by lowering the other notes by the necessary quantities. It is evident that the *whole vîṇâ* B is now tuned a *śruti* lower than A. Repeat the operations once more, *i. e.*, convert the tuning of B to that of the *madhyamagrâma* by lowering the *pañchama*, and then keeping this *pañchama* constant once more convert the tuning back into that of the *shaḍja-grâma*. It will be again necessary to lower the other notes by proper amounts, and the *whole vîṇâ* B will now be tuned *two śrutis* lower than A. But at this stage it will be discovered that the notes produced by the *gândhâra* and *nishâda* strings of B will be in unison respectively with those produced by the *ṛishabha* and *dhaivata* strings of A. Thus it is proved that the *gândhâra* and the *nishâda* possess each of them two *śrutis*. Similar reasoning will prove that the *ṛishabha* and *dhaivata* possess each

clear that a *śruti* is a measure of musical interval, and all *śrutis* were intended to be equal. The illustration by means of two *vîṇâs*, one with fixed notes and the other with variable ones, given in the *S. R.*, though defective from another point of view, also proves the same thing.[51]

In the Bh. the twenty-two *śrutis* have no distinctive names. In later works we find them named, the most commonly accepted names being those given in the *S. R*. The *Saṃgîta-samaya-sâra*, quoted by Siṁhabhûpâla, gives a name to each of the sixty-six *śrutis* comprised in the three octaves.[52] Similarly there is no mention in the *Bh.* of the so-called five kinds (*jâti*) of *śrutis*, *viz.*, *dîptâ*, *âyatâ*, *karuṇâ*, *mṛidu*, and *madhyâ*, found in later writers. What was intended by this classification of *śrutis* I am unable to say. The *S. R.* gives no explanation, but the *Nâradî-śikshâ* contains some verses in this connection, which I give below without pretending to understand them to any great extent. The notes are those used in *sâman* chants and mentioned above.

दीप्ताऽऽयताकरुणानां मृदुमध्यमयोस्तथा ।
श्रुतीनां योऽविशेषज्ञो न स आचार्य उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥
दीप्तामन्द्रे द्वितीये च प्रचतुर्थे तथैव च ।
अतिस्वारे तृतीये च क्रुष्टे तु करुणा श्रुतिः ॥ १० ॥
श्रुतयोन्या द्वितीयस्य मृदुमध्यायताः स्मृताः ।
तासामपि तु वक्ष्यामि लक्षणानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ११ ॥
आयतात्वं भवेन्नीचे मृदुत्वं तु विपर्यये ।
स्वे स्वरे मध्यमात्वं तु तत्समीक्ष्य प्रयोजयेत् ॥ १२ ॥
द्वितीये विरता या तु क्रुष्टश्च परतो भवेत् ।
दीप्तान्तां [दीप्तां तां] तु विजानीयात्प्रथमे न (?) मृदुः स्मृताः [°ता?]ः ॥ १३ ॥
अत्रैव विरता या तु चतुर्थेन [चतुर्थे न ?] प्रवर्तते ।
तथा मन्द्रे भवेद्दीप्ता साम्नश्चैव समापने ॥ १४ ॥
नाविरते श्रुतिं कुर्यात्स्वरयोर्नापि चान्तरे ।
न च ह्रस्वे च दीर्घे च न चापि प्लुटसंज्ञिके ॥ १५ ॥

Nâradî-śikshâ I. i.

Lastly, in the *Bh.* we find no mention of the following characteristics, attached by later writers to the various notes :—

(1) Division into (*a*) *udâtta* (*nishâda* and *gândhâra*), (*b*) *anudâtta* (*ṛishabha* and *dhaivata*), and (*c*) *svarita* (*shadja*, *madhyama* and *pañchama*). This classification occurs in *Yâjñavalkya-śikshâ* and in metrically defective verses in the *Pâṇinîya-śikshâ*, neither of which are probably very old. It is easy to see that this classification has no merit. There happened to be three kinds of notes, *viz.*, with two, three and four *śrutis* respectively, and there existed the three varieties of accents, and these were joined together.

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of them three *śrutis*, and the *pañchama*, *madhyama* and the *shadja* four each. Thus there are altogether $2\times2+2\times3+3\times4=22$ *śrutis* in a *grâma*. निदर्शनं त्वासामभिव्याख्यास्यामः । यथा द्वे वीणे तुल्यप्रमाणतन्त्र्युपवादनदण्डमूर्छने षड्जग्रामाश्रिते कार्ये । तयोरेकतरस्यां [°तरां] मध्यमग्रामिकीं कृत्वा पञ्चमस्यापकर्षे [°कर्षयेत्] श्रुतिम् । तामेव पञ्चमवशात् षड्जग्रामिकीं कुर्यात् । एवं श्रुतिरपकृष्टा भवति । पुनरपि तद्वदेवापकर्षयेद् यथा गान्धारनिषादवन्तावितरस्यामृषभधैवतौ प्रवेक्ष्यतो द्विश्रुत्यधिकत्वात् । पुनस्तद्वदेवापकर्षाद्धैवतर्षभावितरस्यां पञ्चमषड्जौ, प्रविशतः [त्रि]श्रुत्याधिकत्वात् । तद्वत्पुनरपकृष्टायां तस्यां पञ्चममध्यमषड्जा इतरस्यां मध्यमगान्धारनिषादवन्तः प्रवेक्ष्यान्ति चतुःश्रुत्याधिकत्वात् । एवमनेन श्रुतिनिदर्शनेन द्वैग्रामिक्यो द्वाविंशतिश्रुतयः प्रत्यवगन्तव्याः । The corrections in brackets are mine. In other places where the quotation differs from the printed edition I have the authority of one or more Mss. The first correction is justified by the reading of G. तयोरन्यतर मध्यमनामिकीं कुर्यात् । The third correction is self-evident.

[51] S. R. pp. 33-38, *ślokas* 11-23.

[52] S. R., Calcutta, p. 43.

(2) Classification according to supposed descent from various families, *viz.*, (*a*) from the *devas* (*shadja*, *gândhâra* and *madhyama*), (*b*) from the *pitṛis* (*pañchama*), (*c*) from the *ṛishis* (*ṛishabha* and *dhaivata*), (*d*) from the *asuras* (*nishâda*).

(3) Castes—(*a*) *Brâhmaṇas* (*shadja*, *madhyama* and *pañchama*), (*b*) *kshatriyas* (*ṛishabha* and *dhaivata*), (*c*) *vaiśyas* (*nishâda* and *gândhâra*), (*d*) *śûdras* (*antara* and *kâkalî*). Here again it is easy to see that the position of a note in the caste system depends upon its richness in *śrutis*. *Antara* and *kâkalî* (explained in another part of this essay) being only intercalary notes are classed lowest.

(4) Colours.—The colours of the seven notes, as mentioned by Râjâ S. M. Tagore[53] 'according to Sanskrit Authorities,' differ from those given in the S. R. which are respectively as follows:— (1) lotus red, (2) *piñjara* (pale yellow—Simhabhûpâla), (3) golden, (4) *kunda* white, (5) black, (6) yellow, (7) variegated. Certain authors look upon these as examples of 'photisms.'[54] If so the Hindus must be regarded as having not only their sense of vision thus affected by various musical notes, but also their senses of family descent, of caste, of birth-place, of god-fathers (ṛishis), of presiding deities, and of metre! For, they attach all these characters to the musical notes.

(5) Birth-places. The seven *dvîpas* correspond to an equal number of notes, and hence this idea.

(6) *Ṛishis* or god-fathers.

(7) Presiding deities.

(8) Representative Varieties of Metre.

For all these the reader should consult the *S. R.*

(*To be continued.*)

KUMARAPALA AND ARNORAJA.

BY HAR BILAS SARDA, B.A., F.R.S.L., M.R.A.S.; AJMER.

THE Gujarât Chroniclers mention only one war between Kumârapâla, the successor of Siddharâja-Jayasimha, king of Anhilwâṛâ and Arṇorâja, king of Sapâdalaksha, as the kingdom of Ajmer was then called. Recent research, however, shows that two distinct wars, separated from one another by several years, took place between the two combatants and that the incidents of the war mentioned by the Gujarât writers belong some to the first and some to the second war.

The *Prabandha-chintâmaṇi* of Merutuṅga and the *Dvyâśraya-mahâkâvya* of Hemachandra place the war they describe at the beginning of Kumârapâla's reign. The *Prabandha-chintâmaṇi* says that prince Bâhaḍa, son of Udayana, who had been adopted by Siddharâja-Jayasimha as his son, despising Kumârapâla, made himself a soldier of the king of the Sapâdalaksha country. He, desiring to make war on Kumârapâla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapâdalaksha country, surrounded with a large army, arrived on the borders of Gujarât.[1]

The *Dvyâśarya* of Hemachandra says that the Râjâ of Sapâdalaksha, whose name was Anna, when he heard of the death of Jayasimha, though he had been a servant of that monarch, now thought the time was come for making himself known. . . . . . . Anna began to make friends with Ballâla the king of Ujjain and the Râjâs of the country on the west of Gujarât, holding out threats to them as well as promises. Kumârapâla's spies made known to him that Anna Râjâ was advancing upon the western frontier of Gujarât with an army.[2]

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53 *The Musical Scales of the Hindus*, p. 100; *Universal History of Music, addenda* p. vi.

54 J. Combarieu—*Music, Its Laws and Evolution.*

1 *Prabandha-Chintâmaṇi* by Tawny, p. 121.

2 Forbes' *Râsmâlâ* (p. 142), which gives *Dvyâśraya's* account of the war.

Both writers are agreed that the aggressor was Arṇorâja of Ajmer and that the war took place soon after the ascension to the throne of Kumârapâla, which event took place in Saṁvat 1200 (A. D. 1143.)

The *Dvyâśraya*, in verse 34 of Canto XVI, mentions Vikramasiṁha as being the Paramâra Râjâ of Âbû, and he is further on stated as having led the men of Jâlor and followed Kumârapâla[3] esteeming that Râjâ as his lord.

Jinamaṇḍana in his *Kumârapâla-charitra* states that Kumârapâla while returning to Gujarât from the war with Arṇorâja deposed Vikramasiṁha the Paramâra ruler of Âbû as he was disloyal to Kumârapàla and placed on the throne in his place his nephew Yaśodhavala.

The inscription dated Mâgha sud 14th S. 1202 (A.D. 1146), recently discovered by P. Gauri-Shanker Ojha, the learned Superintendent of the Râjputânâ Museum, Ajmer, in Ajârî (Sirohi State), 4 miles from Piṇḍwâṛâ, and now in the Ajmer Museum, shows that Yaśodhavala was king of Chandrâvatî (Âbû) in that year (*i. e.*, in Saṁvat 1202.) This Ajâri inscription coupled with the statement of Jinamaṇḍana about Yaśodhavala's coming to the throne of Âbû fixes the date of the war between Kumârapâla and Arṇorâja in which Vikramasiṁha was present as a vassal of Kumârapâla sometime between S. 1200 and S. 1202.

Now, the Chitoṛ inscription of Kumârapâla dated Saṁvat 1207 (A. D. 1149-50) on a stone in the temple of Mokaljî, the object of which is to record Kumârapâla's visit to Chitoṛ or Chitrakûṭa, distinctly states that "when this king (Kumârapâla) had defeated the ruler of Śâkambhari and devastated the Sapâdalaksha country (line 11) he went to a place named Śâlipura[4] (line 12) and having pitched his camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakûṭa mountain ; . . . . Kumârapâla was delighted with what he saw there and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara . . . . he worshipped the god and his consort and gave to the temple a village, the name of which has not been preserved (line 26)" etc.[5]

From Chitoṛ, Kumârapâla entered Mewâṛ, visited the temple of Mâtâjî in the village Pâlṛî near Morwan, a few miles west of Nîbhahera, and placed an inscription there dated Pausha, Saṁvat 1207.[6] This shows that Kumârapâla was at Chitoṛ in Pausha or Mârgaśîrshsa, and that the war with Arṇoraja took place in the month of Kârtika or Âśvina of that year, *i. e.* S. 1207.

The causes of the two wars appear also to have been distinct. The first war evidently took placet because Arṇorâja, who had married Siddharâja-Jayasiṁha's daughter, Kâñchanadevî (*vide Pṛithvîrâja-vijaya*, Canto VII), espoused the cause of Siddharâja's adopted son Bâhaḍa and wished to place him on the throne of Gujarât in place of the usurper Kumârapâla. The result of this war appears to have been indecisive, as Kumârapâla hastened to make peace with Arṇorâja in order to be able to take the field against the Mâlwâ king Ballâla who had succeeded in winning over Kumârapâla's two generals sent against him, and was advancing from the east towards Anhilwâṛâ.

The second war of S. 1207 appears to have taken place in consequence of Arṇoraja's ill-treatment of his queen Devaladevî, sister of Kumârapâla. Jinamaṇḍana in his *Kumârapâla-prabandha* says that Kumârapâla was incited to undertake the expedition against Arṇorâja by Devaladevî, who had been insulted by Arṇorâja and when threatened by her with the wrath of her brother, "the demon for kings," was kicked by Arṇorâja and told to go to her brother and tell him what she liked. Kumârapâla invaded Arṇorâja's country to avenge this insult. And as Devaladevî must have been given to Arṇorâja after the first war with Kumârapâla, this campaign of Kumârapâla against Arṇorâja must have taken place some years after the first war between them. All these things therefore point to the fact that there were two wars between Kumârapâla and Arṇorâja, the first of which took place sometime between Saṁvat 1200 and 1202 in which Arṇorâja was the aggressor, and the second in Saṁvat 1207 in which Kumârapâla invaded the territory of Arṇorâja.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 143 (edition A. D. 1878.)

[4] Now called Salerâ, about 4 miles from the foot of the hill on which the fortress of Chitoṛ stands.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 422.

[6] See Tod's *Râjasthân*, Vol. II, p. 618, (edition 1832 A. D.).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 179.*)

Sanghṛî : a disease of the throat. Cf. *gal-peṛâ.* D. G. Khân.

Sangu : companion. Jubbal.

Sanj : small wheaten cakes for the Devis. Pângi.

Sânj : evening. Karnâl, S. R., 1872-80, p. 122.

Sankhchor : *Ophiophagus elaps* : a snake. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 18.

Sânklî : a gold earring with a chain. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 157.

Sanna : a part of a plough. Jullundur S. R., p. 109.

Sânta : a leather rope to fix the yoke to the plough. Karnâl S. R., p. 116.

Sânta : a leather whip. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 163.

Sânta nata : an exchange of betrothals between two families. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 127.

Santiyanâsi : a tree (*Argemone mexicana.*) Cf. *kandai* and *khari.* Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Sânu : a tenant, of any kind ; Kulû. Kângra S. R., p. 90.

Sanwak, samak : a grass which bears a small grain collected in times of famine (*panicum colacum*) : Rohtak ?=sâṇwak, P. Dy., p. 1011 or *sâmak*, wild rice, p. 998.

Sânwe : land which has been lying fallow. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 101.

Sânwin : a system of cultivation, in which a spring crop, usually wheat, is taken, then the ground lies fallow for nearly a year, during which it is repeatedly ploughed and rolled. Cf. *nûlîn* and *nûrîn.* Jullundur S. R., p. 118.

Saod : good omen. Cf. *saon.* Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 154.

Saon : good omen. Cf. *saod.* Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 154.

Sâond : a loaf, made of wheat flour. Simla Hills.

Saphal : adj. fruitful.

Sappar : a rock or small precipice of rock ; *shâfa* in Kulû. Kângra Gloss.

Sâr : mere soakage of water. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 159.

Sâra : a piece of cloth worn round the loins. Cf. *tamand.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 42.

Sarai : a platter, made of pottery, used once at feasts and thrown away. Cf. *kasora, kasori* and *saranu.* Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Saranu : a platter, made of pottery, used once at feasts and thrown away. Cf. *kasora* and *sarai.*

Sarelî : a large snake. Simla Hills.

Sargudhi : an inferior form of marriage : Churâh for widow-remarriage usually, but sometimes for virgins when the parents are very poor—called *garîb-châra.* Chamba.

Sârî : the wife's sister. Cf. *sâli.* Gurgaon, S. R., 1872-83, App. V., p. 1.

Sâriyâ : the wife's brother's wife. Cf. *salaij, salahj, sâlhâ, sâliyâ* and *sâlhe.*

Sâriyâ : a petticoat of coloured, striped or printed cotton. Cf. *ghâgra.* Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 155.

Sarkha : a post-position : 'like, even.'

Sâro : the wife's brother. Cf. *sâlâ.* Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, App. V., p. 1.

Sarsam : rape. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 179.

Sâru : a small mango fruit that very quickly rots (*sarjâta*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Sarwâr : *saccharum moonja*. Cf. *sarkanda*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 8.

Sâsan : village service land, amounting generally to 5 or 10 acres, and enjoyed by a headman as remuneration for his duties. Kângra S. R., p. 34.

Sashu : mother-in-law, p. 244.

Sâsrâ : the wife's father's family. Cf. *susrâl* and *susrâr*. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-83, App. V., p. 1.

Sâsu : mother-in-law. Cf. *khâkhû*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Sat : the Râjâ's share of the produce, as opposed to *karat*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.) pp. 44 and 31.

Satanjiv : 'live a hundred years' said by the friends of a man when he sneezes. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 155.

Satbahak : a lighter description of *corvée* than the *pund begâr*, consisting in carrying messages, letters, or light parcels. Kângra S. R., (Barnes) p. 68.

Satbâhuk : a man excused heavy *begâr*, but bound to carry messages, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Saul : *savrea robusta*; Sâl. Cf. *seral*. Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Sath : the share of grain taken from the cultivator by the State or a landlord. Kângra Gloss.

Sathoi : a man who appraises the *sath*, or landlord's share of the grain.

Sâtia : the *swâstika*. Gurgaon.

Saṭnâjâ : a mixture of seven kinds of grain. Jullundur S. R., p. 56.

Saṭṭ paṭaunâ : to be confounded, taken aback.

Satyanâs : a tall thistle-like plant with a yellow flower. Cf. *katâra* and *kateli*. Sirsa S. R. 1879-83, p. 16.

Satrâwal : a tree. Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Saukar : a money-lender. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 96.

Saur sauriya : bedding. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 167.

Sawa : the stack in which the great millets are stood up to dry. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 172.

Sawâî : a method of charging interest : two annas in the rupee are charged for each harvest. Jullundur S. R., p. 72.

Sâwal barâ : a fish (*Ophiocephalus marulius*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Sâwal chhotâ : a fish (*Ophiocephalus striatus*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Sawârâ : cook-house. Sirmûr.

Seba : much the same as *jabar* (moist low-lying land, very good for sugar-cane and rice). Cf. *jalal*. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Sehja dân : the presents given to an *achâraj*. Jullundur S. R., p. 67.

Seil : a porcupine. Kângra Gloss.

Sek : the land appertaining to a bucket or wheel when there are two wheels or buckets on the same well. Cf. *adda*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Sen : moisture.

Senju : an irrigated land. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 94.

Seo : a bridge, chiefly used by Gaddîs or Kanets. Kângra Gloss.

Seok, sewak : a man appointed by a *râjâ* who managed and distributed the *begâr* or forced labour in a *kothî*. Cf. *bhatangrâ*. Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Seonjna : a tree (*Moringa pterygasperma*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Seori: a small allowance of grain from the threshing floor given to a Gujrâtî Brahman at harvest. Karnâl S. R., p. 88.

Sera: a fringed vizor of gold tinsel in a wedding suit. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 129.

Serâl: the *sâl* (*Shorea robusta*). Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Serna: to wet, moisten. Kângra Gloss.

Seri: a watering. Kângra Gloss.

Sershâhî: a charge which the creditor charges the debtor in the case of his selling goods elsewhere; it amounts to one anna in the rupee or a standard *ser* per rupee. Jullundur S. R., p. 72.

Seyul batû: amaranth. Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Sewal: a fish. When in condition one of the best fish for the table. Several varieties are found. Its appearance changes greatly with the season and the water it is found in. It spawns late in the year, and the young may be seen in countless numbers in pools at that time. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 17.

Sewal: a ceremony at weddings performed by the bride or bridegroom's mother; she picks up her petticoat and touches the bridegroom's body all over with it. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 129

Shâfa: a rock (Kulû): see *sappar*.

Shagotri = *bangan*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 41.

Shahbâla: the lad of the family of the bridegroom. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 168.

Shahtia: a large mango fruit, sweet as honey (*shahd*). Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Shajhernâ: to purify, a man, a *deota*, a temple, a place, etc. Chamba.

Shâmain: the yoke used in ploughing—generally made of *darli*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Shanân: (S. *snana*) A bath or bathing. Jubbal.

Shangal: chain. Sirmûr.

Shânt: a religious ceremony performed shortly before the marriage. The nine planets (including the sun and moon) are worshipped, and Brahmins are fed. Jullundur S. R., p. 65.

Sharb: a water rate levied by Firoz Shâh (10 per cent. on the yield of the irrigation) Karnâl S. R., p. 17.

Sharḍa: a tax. Kuthâr. Simla Hills.

Sharuno: the full moon (*pûran mâshî*) day in Bhâdon: also called Rakhrûnio. Simla Hills.

Shel: a quarter of a *ser* of flax per rupee paid as a tax. Kuthâr.

Shibbo-kâ-thân: a celebrated shrine sacred to saint Gugga in the Kângra district. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 33.

Shîhân: s. m. a tiger.

Shir: stairs. Simla Hills.

Shir: a ladder. Sirmûr.

Shirhi: a ladder. Sirmûr.

Shok: grief, anxiety.

Shorâch (Shivrâtri): a fast held on varying dates in Mâgh or Phâgan in the Sâch-pargana of Pângi.

Shûgu: 132 reams of paper given as revenue; Spitî. Kângra S. R., p. 114.

Sian: a figure, representing Râdhîkâ, wife of Krishna. Gurgaon.

Sidha: the uncooked materials for a dinner, given to a priest. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80 p. 137.

Sîdî: a bier for carrying a dead body. Cf. *arthi*. Sirsa, S. R., 1879-83, p. 168.

Sidiâlî: Rs. 12 paid to the father and Rs. 3 to the mother of the bride at a betrothal in Pângi. The name *Sidiâlî* is applied to the first named payment, and the second is called *gudmi*.

Sidrî: a store room on either side of the *tamsâl* (open yard). Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 120.

Sijja: wet, damp. Kângra Gloss.

Sil: the 7th of Chet on which day enormous crowds collect at the shrines. Cf. *sîlî sâten* and *Sîtlâ's 7th*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 150.

Sila: hedgehog. Bauria *argot*.

Silî sâten: the 7th of Chet on which day enormous crowds collect at the shrines. Cf. *sil* and *Sîtlâ's 7th*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 150.

Silla: an ear of corn. Kângra Gloss.

Simbhâlu: a tree (*vitex negundo*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

CAN WE FIX THE DATE OF ŚAMKARÂCHÂRYA MORE ACCURATELY?

It is a well-known fact that in his gloss on the *Vedânta-sûtras* Śaṁkarâchârya makes mention of some kings who are supposed to be his contemporaries.[1] One of these is Balavarmâ, who is twice alluded to by the philosopher, once in his *Bhâshya* on *Sûtra* IV. 3, 5 and once on *Sûtra* II. 4, 1. This Balavarmâ has not yet been identified, but he seems in all likelihood to be the prince of that name referred to in the Kaḍab copper-plate charter of the Râshṭrakûṭa king, Govinda III. It records the grant of a village by this king to the Jaina *muni* Arkakîrti, in remuneration for his having warded off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalâditya, the governor of the Kunuṁgil district. Vimalâditya's father was Yaśovarman and his grandfather Balavarman. They claimed to belong to the Châlukya family. Now, the date of the Kaḍab charter is Śaka 735=A. D. 813, when therefore, Vimalâditya was living. Supposing that at that time Vimalâditya had reigned for 10 years and assigning a period of 18 years to each one of his predecessors, we find that Balavarmâ was reigning from A. D. 767 to 785. This brings us exactly to the time when Śaṁkarâchârya is shown by Prof. K. B. Pathak to have flourished. He says: "Bhartṛihari is criticised by Kumârila who in his turn is criticised by Śaṁkarâchârya; Bhartṛihari died in A. D. 650, and became famous throughout India nearly half a century later as I-tsing assures us. Kumârila, who must have criticised Bhartṛihari after the latter had become famous, of course belongs to the first half of the eighth century; Śaṁkarâchârya must for a similar reason be assigned to the latter half of the same century."[2] And Balavarmâ mentioned by the Kaḍab plates must have been ruling precisely in the second half of the 8th century, or, as we have calculated, from A. D. 767 to 785. There can thus be little doubt as to this Balavarmâ being the contemporary prince of that name alluded to by Śaṁkarâchârya.

This conclusion receives a remarkable confirmation from another source. Sir Ramkrishṇa Bhandarkar says: "At the end of a work Saṁkshepaśârîraka, the author Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Śaṁkarâchârya, states that he composed it while the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Âditya (Sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."[3] This description, as the same authority tells us, would apply with propriety to a king with *Âditya* as a component of his name and belonging to the race of the Châlukyas, who, as the inscriptions inform us, were of the Mânavya *gotra*. And whom can this description fit better than Vimalâditya mentioned by the Kaḍab grant referred to above? Vimalâditya was a Châlukya, as the same inscription tells us, and *Âditya* of course forms part of his name. What is more, he is son's son of Balavarmâ just as Sarvajñâtman was pupil's pupil of Śaṁkarâchârya. Vimalâditya is removed two generations from Balavarmâ just as Sarvajñâtman was from Śaṁkarâchârya whose contemporary was Balavarmâ.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

[1] *Gauḍavaho* (BO. SK. Series), Intro., p. ccxii and ff.

[2] *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 218.

[3] *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 80.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

5.—The Bânswârâ Plates of Bhojadeva; [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1076.

THE copperplates, on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, were originally in the possession of a woman of the Ṭhâṭârâ (copper-smith) caste living in Bânswârâ in Râjputânâ. They were afterwards bought for, and are now placed in, the Râjputânâ Museum, Ajmer. I edit the inscription from a photograph kindly supplied by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer.

The record contains thirty-one lines of writing. The Characters are Nâgarî. The language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography, attention may be drawn to (1) the use of *v* for *b* and (2) of the palatal *s'* for the dental *s*.

The inscription is one of the Paramâra king Bhoja, or, as he is herein called, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramesvara* Bhojadeva, and records that after bathing on the festival day (*parvaṇi*) in consequence of the conquest of the Konkan, he granted a hundred *nivartanas* of land on the borders of the village of Vaṭapadraka to a Brâhmaṇa called Bhâila, son of Vâmana, who belonged to the Vâji-Mâdhyaṁdina *śâkhâ* of the Vasishṭha *gotra*, which had only one *pravara*. Vaṭapadraka itself was situated in the Ghâghradora district (*bhoga*) of the Sthalî province (*maṇḍala*). The date, which is given at the end, is the 4th of the bright half of Mâgha of the year 1176. Both the plates bear the sign-manual of the king.

So far only one record of Bhoja is known to us: *viz.*, the Ujjain copperplate charter of V. S 1078 = A. D. 1021. Our inscription is another and is only two years earlier. Its importance lies in the fact that it speaks of the conquest of the Konkan by Bhoja, which certainly must have occurred just before the date of our plates. The full significance of this fact will be clear when we compare it with the Baḷagâṁve inscription of A. D. 1019, which describes the Châlukya king Jayasiṁha as a moon to the water-lily that was king Bhoja (*i. e.*, taking away the glory of Bhoja) and as putting to flight the confederacy of Mâlwâ.[1] It thus appears that Bhoja had put himself at the head of the Mâlwâ confederacy and invaded the territory of the Châlukya king Jayasiṁha, commencing with seizing the Konkan shortly before our grant was issued. But this confederacy was soon broken by Jayasiṁha and no permanent conquest appears to have been achieved by Bhoja. The latter may perhaps have made this expedition to avenge the execution of his uncle Vâkpati-Muñja by Tailapa, a dramatic play representing which had been acted before him, as the *Prabandha-chintâmaṇi* informs us.

Text.[2]

1. ओं [3] [।*] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय विभर्त्ति [4] तां । ऐंदवीं शिरसा लेखां ज-
2. गद्बीजांकुराकृतिं [5] ॥ [१*] तन्वंतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ।(।)क-
3. ल्पांतसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ॥ [२*] परमभट्टारकमहारा-
4. जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
5. हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
6. ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
7. परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥
8. स्थलीमंडले घाघ्रदोरभोगांतःपातिवटपद्रके [6]शमुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-
9. रुषान्ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिजनपदादींश्च[7] समादिशत्यस्तुवः संविदितं ॥

[1] Above, Vol. V, p. 17.

[2] From a photo supplied by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read बिभर्ति.

[5] Read °द्बीजां°.

[6] Read समुपागता°.

[7] Read °न्ब्राह्मणो°.

10. यथाऽस्माभिः कोंकणविजयपर्व्वणि स्नात्वा[8] चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं
11. समभ्यर्च्य संशारस्याशारतां[9] दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमा-
12. त्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणागजलविंदुसमा[10] नराणां (।) धर्म्मः सखा
13. परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [३*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं । प्राप्य येन
14. ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ [४*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्योपरि-
[स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य]

Second Plate.

15. लिखितग्रामातभूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं[11] नि १०० स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यंतं हिरण्या-
16. दायसमेतं सभागभोगं सोपरिकरं सर्व्वादायसमेतं ब्राह्मणभाइलाय[12] वामन-
17. सुताय वशिष्ठसगोत्राय[13] वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय च्छिंछछाच्छानविनिर्गतपूर्व्व-
18. जाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्यचंद्राक्काण्ण-[14]
19. वक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शाशनेनोदकपूर्व्वं[15] प्रतिपादितमिति मत्वा त-
20. न्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-
21. र्भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं [16]वुध्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यै-
22. रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मादायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च । व-[17]
23. हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [५*]
24. यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवांतिप्रतिमानि
25. तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [६*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमि-
26. दमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवुवुदचंचलाया[18] दानं फलं परयशःपरिपाल-
27. नंच ॥ [७*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः (।)
28. सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवाद्भिः ॥ [८*] इति कम-
29. लदलांवुविंदुलोलां[19] श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदा-
30. हृतं च वुध्वा[20] न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या [॥९*] इति ॥ संवत् १०७६ माघ शुदि ५
31. स्वयमाज्ञा । मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य

6.—Nâḍol Plate of Pratâpasiṁha; [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1213.

This plate, like those of Kîrtipâla (*Ante*, Vol. XL., p. 144), was in the possession of the *panchâyat* of the village of Nâḍol in the Desûrî district, Jodhpur State. When I visited the place in 1908, all the members of the *panchâyat*, fortunately for me, were present, and the plate was shown to me, though on the day I had to leave the place. There was no time to take an inked impression, and so I had to satisfy myself only with making a transcript of the inscription.

The record contains 13 lines of writing, which cover a space of 9½″ broad by 6⅓″ high. The **Characters** are Nâgarî. The **language** is Sanskrit, and excepting a benedictory verse about the end, the whole inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography** it is sufficient to note that (1) a consonant following *r* is doubled; (2) that the dental *s* has been twice substituted for the palatal *s'*; (3) that the sign for *v* is also used for *b*, and (4) that *avagraha* has been twice employed, once in l. 7 and another time in l. 8. As regards **lexicography** attention may be drawn to *poritya* prefixed to Vodâna in l. 5. *Poritya* seems to stand for *paurvâtya*, an ungrammatical form derived from *pûrva*. The word *trihâika* occurring in l. 10 is also worthy of note. It appears to denote some variety of a rupee.

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[8] Read स्नात्वा.

[9] Read संसारस्यासारतां.

[10] Read °तृणाग्र° and °बिन्दु°.

[11] Read °ग्रामान्त°

[12] Read ब्राह्मण°.

[13] Read वसिष्ठ°.

[14] Read चन्द्रार्कार्ण्ण°

[15] Read शासने°.

[16] Read बुद्धा°.

[17] Read ब°.

[18] Read °बुद्बुद°.

[19] Read °दलाम्बुबिन्दु°.

[20] Read बुद्धा.

The inscription opens with the date: Friday, the 10th of the dark half of Mârgaśîrsha in the [Vikrama] year 1213, when Kumârapâladeva was the paramount sovereign and Vâhaḍadeva, the great minister, was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing up of documents, etc. It then speaks of a grant made by his feudatory, *Mahâmaṇḍalika* Śrî-Pratâpasiṁha, who, we are told, was a son of Vastarâja and grandson of Yogarâja and belonged to the Voḍâṇâ family of the eastern section. Voḍâṇâ is the name of a Rajpût clan, which is now well-nigh extinct. It is, however, mentioned in an inscription found at Baṛlu, 34 miles north-east of Jodhpur. The grant consists of a rupee per day allotted from the custom-house (*maṇḍapikâ*) of Badarî. It was made for the benefit of three Jaina temples, two of which were of Mahâvîra and Arishṭanemi, situated in Nadûlaḍâgikâ, and the third of Ajitasvâmi-deva in Lavaṁdaḍî.

Of the localities herein specified, Nadûlaḍâgikâ is of course Nâḍlâî, as is clearly proved by Inscriptions Nos. VIII and XI published in my paper "The Châhamânas of Marwar" (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI., pp. 36 and 43). Inscription XI also speaks of Badarî, which has been identified with Borlî, 8 miles north of Nâḍlâî. Lavaṁdaḍî I am unable to identify. The two temples of Nâḍlâî referred to in our inscription still exist at this place. The temple of Mahâvîra has now been dedicated to Âdinâth, but the Inscription No. XI found here distinctly shows that it was originally a temple of Mahâvîra. The temple of Arishṭanemi mentioned in our inscription is doubtless the temple of Neminâtha, locally known as Jâdvâjî, situated on a small hill to the south-east of Nâḍlâî. It was here that Inscription No. VIII was found, and in it the name of the god, Neminâthadeva, is clearly specified.

Text.[21]

1. ओं [।] सं १२१३ वर्षे (।।) मार्ग्ग वदि १० शुक्रे ।। श्रीमदणहिलपाटके (।) समस्तराजावलीस-
2. मलंकृतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरउमापतिवरलध्वप्रसादप्रौ-[22]
3. ढप्रतापनिजभुजविक्रमरणांगणाविनिर्ज्जितशाकंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवक-
4. ल्याणविजयराज्ये । तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामात्यश्रीवाहडदेवे श्रीश्रीकरणादौ
5. सकलमुद्राव्यापान्परिपंथयति[23] यथा । अस्मिन्काले प्रवर्त्तमाने पोरित्यवोडाणान्वये ।
6. महाराज॰ श्रीयोगराजस्तदे[24] तदीयसुतसंजातमहामंडलीक॰ श्रीवस्तराजस्तस्य[25]
7. सुतसंजातऽनेक[26] गुणगणालंकृतमहामंडलीकश्रीप्रताप(ताप) सिंहः[27] सासनं[28] प्रयच्छ-
8. ति यथा । अत्र नडूतडागिकायां[29] देवश्रीमहावीरचैत्ये । तथाऽरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीलवं
9. दडीग्रामे श्रीअजितस्वामिदेवचैत्ये एवं देवत्रयाणां स्वीयधर्म्मार्थे वदर्याः[30] मंडपिकामध्या-
10. त् समस्तमहाजनभट्टारकब्राह्मणादयप्रमुखं[31] प्रदत्त[32] त्रिहाइको [33]रूपक१एकं[34] दिनं प्रति प्र-
11. दातव्यमिदं । यः कोपि लोपयति सो ब्रह्महत्यागोहत्यासहस्रेण[35] लिप्यते । यस्य यस्य यदा भू-
12. तस्य[36] तस्य तदा फलं ।। [37]वहुभिः वंसुधा भुका[38] राजभिः[39] । यः कोपि वालयति[40] तस्याहं पादलग्नास्तित्यामीति ।।[41]
13. गौडान्वये[42] कायस्थ पंडित. महीपालेन सासनमिदं[43] लिखितं ।।

[21] From the original plate.

[22] Read °लब्ध°.

[23] Read °व्यापारान्परिपंथयति.

[24] The letters तदे are superfluous.

[25] There is some space left between त and स्य.

[26] Read °संजातानेक°.

[27] Read °प्रतापसिंह:.

[28] Read शासनं.

[29] Read नडूलडागिकायां.

[30] Read बदर्याः.

[31] Read °ब्राह्मणादि°.

[32] Read प्रदत्तः.

[33] Read रूपकः.

[34] Read एकः.

[35] Read स ब्रह्म°.

[36] Read भुमिस्तस्य.

[37] Read बहुभि°.

[38] Read भूक्ता.

[39] Supply सगरादिभिः

[40] Read पालयति.

[41] I do not know what तित्यामीति stands for.

[42] Read गौडान्वयेन.

[43] Read शासनमिदं.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE ALAMKÂRA LITERATURE.

BY P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.B.; BOMBAY.

(*Continued from p. 128.*)

Section II.—The meaning of the word 'Alaṁkâra.'

THIS is the most appropriate place to discuss the meaning of the word *Alaṁkâra*. The latter has at least two generally accepted significances, one a wider one and the other, a narrow and more prevalent one. The word is used in a wide sense when it means 'charm' or 'beauty.' It then includes everything that makes poetry attractive. This is the meaning of the word when it occurs as the title of works on rhetoric; *e.g.*, the *Kâvyâlaṁkâra* of Rudraṭa, the *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra* of Vâmana, etc. Vâmana in his *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra* (I. 1. 2) defines *Alaṁkâra* in this way, *viz.*, *Saundaryam-alaṁkâraḥ.*[33] The narrower meaning of the word is 'figure of speech.' This is the sense in which the word is most often used. In the present essay we generally stick to the narrower meaning of the word and shall give detailed accounts of those writers only who treat of figures of speech. In a few cases, writers on topics other than figures of speech have been dealt with, because their works have some bearing on the art of poetry, of which figures of speech form only a part. In many catalogues of Sanskrit MSS, such works as the *Kâmasûtra* of Vâtsyâyana are classed under the heading *Alaṁkâra.* We shall abstain from dilating upon such works, as can by no stretch of language be included under *Alaṁkâra-śâstra.*

Section III.—The position of figures of speech.

Let us now consider the place that should be assigned to figures of speech in the whole machinery of poetry. There is a great divergence of opinion on this point. The ancient rhetoricians attached to *Alaṁkâras* an importance which was out of all proportion to their proper worth. Daṇḍin's *Kâvyâdarśa,* though it bears a proud title, is mostly taken up by the treatment of figures of speech. Daṇḍin does not dilate upon the soul of poetry, and appears to be unaware of the threefold division of *Kâvya* given by later writers. He defines figures of speech as 'those attributes which produce charm in poetry.'[34] In one place he appears to regard the *Guṇa* called *Samâdhi* as the all-in-all of poetry.[35] It cannot be said, however, that he is quite in the dark about *rasa,* the soul of poetry according to Ânandavardhana and all later *Âlaṁkârikas.* Daṇḍin in one place says that all *Alaṁkâras* endow the sense with *rasa.*[36] He gives some prominence to *rasa,* by defining the figure of speech called *preyas* and *rasavad.* Similarly Bhâmaha nowhere speaks of *rasa* as the soul of poetry and gives the greatest prominence to *Alaṁkâras.* He is cognisant of *rasa, bhâva,* etc., but assigns to them a subordinate position, as Daṇḍin does, by speaking of them under *rasavad* and *preyas.* The same remark applies to Udbhaṭa. We can never affirm about the abovementioned three writers that they never dreamt of a suggested sense (*vyaṅgya artha*) in poetry; for they define *Samâsôkti, Vyâjastuti, Aprastutapraśaṁsâ,* etc., in which some suggested sense is always present. In *Paryâyôkta* they (especially Bhâmaha and Udbhaṭa) included what by later writers was called *dhvani.* But with them the suggested sense is only an accessory to the expressed sense (*vâchya artha*); they did not assign the position of honour to the *vyaṅgya* sense as Ânandavardhana and his school do. The same remarks apply to Rudraṭa. In the figure *Bhâva* as defined and illustrated by him (VII. 38-41) there is a good deal of suggested sense. According to Vâmana

[33] The *vritti* on this is *Alaṁkṛitir=alaṁkâraḥ* | *Karaṇa-vyutpattyâ punar=alaṁkâra-śabdô syam=Upamâdishu vartate.* |

[34] *Kâvya-śôbhâkarân dharmân=Alaṁkârân prachakshate* | *Kâvyâdarśa* II. 1.

[35] *Tad=etat kâvya-sarvasvaṁ Samâdhir=nâma yô guṇaḥ* | *K. D.* I. 100.

[36] *Kâmaṁ sarvô spy=alaṁkârô rasam=arthe nishiñchati* | *K. D.* I. 62.

the soul of poetry is a style of composition, which is nothing but a peculiar arrangement of words.[37] His definition of *Alaṁkâra* is different from that of Daṇḍin. He says "*Guṇas* are those attributes which produce charm in poetry; while figures of speech enhance it (charm)."[38] Daṇḍin speaks of *Alaṁkâras* as those attributes which produce charm in poetry; while this function is assigned to *Guṇas* by Vâmana. Daṇḍin's treatment is a crude one; he does speak of *Ritis* (styles), of *Guṇas* and *Alaṁkâras*; but he nowhere assigns to each its proper position. Vâmana is more scientific. He distinctly tells us what the soul of poetry is, and then says that ten *Guṇas* pertain to this soul of poetry (just as bravery, etc., are the qualities of the human soul) and that the business of *Alaṁkâras* is to enhance the charm of poetry. Vâmana thus advances one step further than Daṇḍin and adumbrates the theory of rhetoric completely promulgated later on by Ânandavardhana. Vâmana also is quite aware of a suggested sense in poetry; but he assigns to it a subordinate position by including it under the figure *Vakrôkti*, which he defines as 'indication based upon resemblance.'[39] It was Ânandavardhana who first assigned to *Alaṁkâras* their proper place and elaborated a complete theory of rhetoric. He established in a very subtle and suggestive treatise called the *Dhvanyâloka* that suggested sense is the soul of poetry, that *Guṇas* (*Mâdhurya*—sweetness, *Ojas*—strength, and *Prasâda*—perspicuity) are the properties of the soul of poetry as bravery is a property of the human mind, and that figures of speech are purely ornaments which set off to advantage the inherent charm of poetry, as ornaments of gold set off the beauty of the person.[40] He divided poetry into three varieties: *Dhvani* (in which the *vyaṅgya* sense is most prominent, see *Dhvanyâloka-kârikâ* I. 16), *Guṇîbhûtavyaṅgya* (in which suggested sense is not the most prominent, *Kârikâ* III. 35, p. 205), and *Chitra* (in which suggested sense is not manifest, *Kârikâ* III. 42-43, p. 220). After establishing that the soul of poetry is suggested sense, a question naturally arises "by what process is this suggested sense obtained?" Ânandavardhana tries at great length to show that suggested sense is due to a function of words called *Vyañjanâ*, which is apart from *Abhidhâ* and *Lakshaṇâ*. Most writers on *Alaṁkâra* such as Mammaṭa, Viśvanâtha, Jagannâtha follow the lead of Ânandavardhana, and speak of three functions of words, *Abhidhâ*, *Lakshaṇâ* and *Vyañjanâ*. But it must be borne in mind that many other schools of philosophy, especially the *Târkikas*, speak of only *Abhidhâ* and *Lakshaṇâ*, and include *Vyañjanâ* under *Abhidhâ* or under *Anumâna* (Inference).[41] To the modern mind, it would appear that the two functions, *Abhidhâ* (primary power) and *Lakshaṇâ* (indication), are quite sufficient to account for all the meanings of words, and that the *Âlaṁkârikas* introduced unnecessary intricacies by admitting the *Vyañjanâ-vṛitti*. But it appears to us that from the position taken up by Ânandavardhana that *Vyaṅgya* sense is the soul of poetry, he had no other alternative but to admit *Vyañjanâ-vṛitti*. The *Vyaṅgya* sense cannot be conveyed by *Abhidhâ*; for if it were so, it would cease to be *Vyaṅgya* and would be *Vâchya* (expressed). Nor can *Lakshaṇâ* operate; for it is a secondary power of words, while the *Vyaṅgya* sense is the one most prominently conveyed by words and because suggested sense exists even when *Lakshaṇâ* is absent and *vice versâ*.

In connection with the theory promulgated by Ânandavardhana there are one or two points which deserve consideration. In our opinion Ânandavardhana, in advocating that *rasa* is the soul of poetry, was profoundly influenced by the *Nâṭya-śâstra* of Bharata. Bharata laid down with all the weight of his authority that the business of the drama is to evolve one or more of the eight

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37 *Rîtir=âtmâ Kâvyasya | Viśishṭâ pada-rachanâ rîtiḥ* | *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra* I. 2. 6-7.

38 *Kâvya-śôbhâyâḥ kartâro dharmâ Guṇâḥ* | *Tad-atiśaya-hetavas=tv=Alaṁkârâḥ* | *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra* III. 1. 1-2.

39 *Sâdṛiśyâl-lakshaṇâ Vakrôktiḥ* | *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtra*, IV. 3. 8.

40 *Tam=artham=avalambante ye ṅginaṁ te Guṇâḥ smṛitâḥ* || *Aṅgâśritâs=tv=Alaṁkârâ mantavyâḥ kaṭakâdivat* || *Dhva-kârikâ* II. 7, p. 78.

41 *Vide* Tarka-dîpikâ "*Vyañjanâpi Sakti-lakshaṇ-ântarbhûtâ* | *Aśaktimûlâ cha anumânâdinâ-anyathâ-siddhâ* ||"

rasas: *Śṛingâra*, *Hâsya*, *Karuṇa*, *Raudra*, *Vîra*, *Bhayânaka*, *Bîbhatsa* and *Adbhuta*.[42] What had been admitted in the case of the drama, only a branch of poetry, was extended to the whole domain of the latter. The *Dhvanyâloka* is quite explicit on this point. It says: "It is well-known in Bharata (in the work of Bharata) that the composition of poems must have *rasa* as their purport, as said by us," and further that "*rasa*, etc., are the soul of both (*Nâṭya* and *Kâvya*)."[43] These dicta of Ânandavardhana did not gain universal favour at first. We know three or four writers who entered a vigorous protest against the theories propounded by the *Dhvanyâloka*. Pratîhârendurâja (first half of 10th century A. D.) in his comment upon Udbhaṭa's *Alaṁkâra-sâra-saṁgraha* tries very hard to prove that what is called *dhvani* by certain critics is included under the figures of speech treated of by Udbhaṭa.[44] The author of *Vakrôkti-jîvita* affirms that *Vakrôkti* (crooked or clever speech) is the soul of poetry and that *dhvani* should be included under *Upachâra-vakratâ*, *i.e.*, *Vakrôkti* based upon resemblance.[45] It is said by the commentator of the *Vyakti-viveka* of Mahimabhaṭṭa that Bhaṭṭa-nâyaka wrote a work called *Hṛidayadarpaṇa* to demolish the theory set up by Ânandavardhana.[46] But the fiercest onslaught on the *Dhvanyâloka* was delivered by Mahimabhaṭṭa (first half of 11th century). He wrote a work called *Vyakti-viveka* to establish that all *dhvani* is included under Inference.[47] The views of this writer are combated by *Alaṁkâra-sarvasva* and Mammaṭa. Although the *Dhvanyâloka* had soon after its birth to undergo the ordeal of fierce criticism, still it gradually won favour and became the most authoritative work on rhetoric. From Mammaṭa to Jagannâtha all rhetoricians look upon Ânandavardhana with the greatest veneration and accept his theories without a word of dissent.[48]

Section IV.—The basis of division as regards figures of speech.

The most ancient basis of classification appears to have been very simple. Figures of speech were divided into two classes: those that depend for their charm on words alone and those in which the beauty is seen in the sense alone. This division of the figures of speech is the only one that is found in ancient writings on *Alaṁkâra*. Bharata does not speak of it in his *Nâṭya-śâstra*. Daṇḍin tacitly recognizes it, inasmuch as he treats of *Arthâlaṁkâras* in the second *Parichchheda* and of *Śabdâlaṁkâras* in the third. Both Bhâmaha and Udbhaṭa do not explicitly divide *Alaṁkâras* into two varieties, but they seem to have had the twofold division in mind; for Bhâmaha first speaks of Anuprâsa and Yamaka and then of figures that are regarded by all as *Alaṁkâras* of *artha*; Udbhaṭa similarly speaks of Punaruktavadâbhâsa and Anuprâsa first and then of *Arthâlaṁkâras*. Vâmana speaks of *Śabdâlaṁkâras* in the fourth *Adhikaraṇa* (1st Adhyâya) of his work and of *Arthâlaṁkâras* in the second and third *Adhyâyas* of the same *Adhikaraṇa*. Rudraṭa, Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and most subsequent writers recognize this twofold division of figures of speech.

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[42] *Nâṭya-śâstra* VI. 15.

[43] *Etach-cha rasâdi-tâtparyeṇa kâvya-nibandhanaṁ Bharatâdâv=api su-prasiddham=eva . . . . | rasâdayô hi dvayôr=api tayôr=jîvitabhûtâḥ* | pp. 181-182 of *Dhvanyâloka*.

[44] "*Nanu yatra kâvye sahṛidaya-hṛiday-âhlâdinaḥ pradhânabhûtasya sva-śabda-vyâpârâ-spṛishṭatvena pratîyamân-aikarûpasy-ârthasya sad-bhâvas=tatra tathâvidh-ârth-âbhivyakti-hetuḥ kâvya-jîvita-bhûtaḥ kaiśchit sahṛidayair=dhvanir=nâma vyañjakatva-bhed-âtmâ kâvya-dharmo'bhihitaḥ* | *sa kasmâd=iha n=ôpadishṭaḥ* | *uchyate* | *eshv=ev=âlaṁkâreshv=antarbhâvât* | fol. 57 (Deccan College MS.).

[45] *Vakrokti-jîvitakâraḥ punar=vaidagdhya-bhangî-bhaṇiti-svabhâvâṁ Vakrôktim=eva prâdhânyât kâvya-jîvitam=uktavân* | . . . . *Upachâra-vakratâdibhiḥ samastô dhvani-prapañchaḥ svîkṛitaḥ* | *Alaṁkâra-sarvasva*, p. 8.

[46] See p. 1 of the commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* (printed at Trivandrum, Madras) "*Hṛidaya-darpaṇâkhyô dhvani-dhvaṁsa-granthô'pi*."

[47] *Anumâne'ntarbhâvaṁ sarvasy=aiva dhvaneḥ prakâśayitum* | *Vyakti-vivekaṁ kurute praṇamya Mahîmâ parâṁ vâcham* || first verse of the *Vyakti-viveka*.

[48] Mammaṭa says "*Ye rasasy=âṅginô dharmâḥ Śauryâdaya iv=âtmanaḥ* | *Utkarsha-hetavas=te syur=achala-sthitayo Guṇâḥ* || *Upakurvanti taṁ santaṁ ye'ṅgadvâreṇa jâtuchit* | *hârâ-divad=alaṁkârâs=te'nuprâsopamâdayaḥ* || *Kâvyaprakâśa*, Ullâsa VIII; similarly Śauddhodani as embodied in the *Alaṁkâraśekhara* says: *Alaṁkâras=tu śôbhâyai rasa âtmâ pare manaḥ* |" II. 2. p. 6.

Some writers, however, propose a division which is a little more elaborate. *Alaṁkâras*, according to them, are either of *śabda*, or of *artha*, or of both. Bhôja in his *Sarasvatîkanṭhâbharaṇa* enumerates twenty-four *Alaṁkâras* of each. It is worthy of note that he regards Upamâ, Rûpaka, etc., as *Alaṁkâras* of both *śabda* and *artha* (and not of *artha* alone, as said by almost all other writers). Strictly speaking, all figures are really *Alaṁkâras* of both *śabda* and *artha*, as no *Alaṁkâra* is possible without both of them. The reason why a particular figure is called an *Arthâlaṁkâra* or *Śabdâlaṁkâra* is that the charm prominently lies in the *artha* or in the *śabda*. Hence to regard Upamâ and Rûpaka as *Alaṁkâras* of both is not right, and no other work treats them as such except the *Agnipurâṇa*, which regards Âkshepa, Samâsokti, Aprastutapraśaṁsâ as *Alaṁkâras* of both *śabda* and *artha* just as Bhôja does. If we are to speak of a third class of *Alaṁkâras* at all, dependent both on *śabda* and *artha*, the most appropriate examples will be Punaruktavadâbhâsa and Paramparitarûpaka. But the twofold division of *Alaṁkâras* is enough for all practical purposes and has been followed by most writers, both ancient and modern.

Section V.—(1) The number of Sabdâlaṁkâras.

The number of *Śabdâlaṁkâras* has never been very large. Most writers, such as Daṇḍin, Bhâmaha, Udbhaṭa, speak of two or three. The largest number is that mentioned by Bhôja, *viz.*, 24. The ancient works on *Alaṁkâra* paid a good deal of attention to *Śabdâlaṁkâras*, but as critical insight grew, the *Alaṁkâras* of words dwindled into insignificance.

(2) Historical treatment of a few Sabdâlaṁkâras.

Yamaka—Yamaka came very early into prominence. The *Râmâyaṇa* contains a few Yamakas here and there.[49] It is most likely that they are later additions. Even Kâlidâsa yielded to the charms of Yamaka and employed it in the ninth *sarga* of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Varâhamihira in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* has a beautiful Yamaka.[50] Bharata in his *Nâṭya-śâstra* gives ten varieties of Yamaka, and is followed very closely by the *Agnipurâṇa*. Daṇḍin speaks of Yamaka at very great length, his treatment being perhaps the fullest that we possess. Bhâmaha speaks of five varieties only, and says that others are included in them. Vâmana gives a tolerably full treatment. But it is remarkable that Udbhaṭa omits the treatment of Yamaka altogether. Rudraṭa ranks next to Daṇḍin in the thorough treatment of Yamaka. Mammaṭa and other later writers, perhaps following the dictum of Ânandavardhana that, as Yamaka requires a special effort on the part of the poet, it is in no way accessory to *rasa*,[51] allude to Yamaka, but dismiss it in a few words.

Anuprâsa.—Alliteration is naturally charming to the ear; but when indulged in to excess one becomes disgusted with the jingle of words. The poets of every country resort to this device. We saw above that in the inscription of Rudradâman at Girnâr (A. D. 150), Anuprâsa is employed at every step. Kâlidâsa also, who is certainly earlier than the famous Mandasor inscription (A. D. 472), is very fond of Anuprâsa; but he never uses it to excess. It is to be noted that Bharata does not refer to it at all. Daṇḍin also seems to look with disfavour on Anuprâsa, says that the southern poets do not employ Anuprâsa and that the Gauḍa school of poets is very fond of it.[52] Bhâmaha speaks of two varieties of Anuprâsa, while Udbhaṭa speaks of Chhekânuprâsa, Vṛittyanuprâsa and Lâṭânuprâsa. Vâmana, Mammaṭa and other subsequent writers treat of it. The *Dhvanyâloka* remarks that Anuprâsa is of no use in suggesting *Sṛingâra*, when the latter is principal.[53]

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[49] *Tatô varârhâs suviśuddha-bhâvâs=teshâm striyas=tatra mahânubhâvâḥ | Priyeshu pâneshu cha saktabhâvâ dadarśa târâ iva susvabhâvâḥ* || *Sundarakâṇḍa* V. 15-17.

[50] *Yena ch=âmbuharaṇe ꞌpi vidrumair=bhûdharaiḥ samaṇiratnavidrumaiḥ | Nirgatais-taduragaiś=cha râjitas Sâgaro ꞌdhikataram virâjitaḥ* || *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, 12. 2.

[51] *Yamakâdi-nibandhe tu pṛithag-yatno ꞌsya jâyate | Saktasy=âpi raseꞌṅgatvaṁ tasmâd=eshâm na vidyate* | *Dhva-kârikâ*, II. 19; see also II. 16.

[52] *Itîdaṁ nâdṛitaṁ Gauḍair=anuprâsas=tu tatpriyaḥ* | *K. D.* I. 54; *Ato naivam=Anuprâsam dâkshiṇâtyâḥ prayuñjate* | *K. D.* I. 60.

[53] *Sṛingârasy=âṅgino yatnâ l=ekarûpânubandhanât | sarveshv=eva prabhedeshu n=Ânuprâsaḥ prakâśakaḥ* | *Dhva.* II. 15.

Chitra.—Bharata, Bhâmaha and Udbhaṭa do not refer to Chitrabandhas at all. Daṇḍin does not give a general definition of Chitra, but he dilates upon some of its varieties, such as *Gomûtrikâ*, *Sarvatobhadra*, etc. It is by no means to be supposed that these tricks with words were favourite with later poets. Many of these Chitrabandhas occur as early as Bhâravi, who cannot be later than A. D. 600, as he is highly praised together with Kâlidâsa in an inscription dated A. D. 634.[54] Mâgha also indicates that in his day a *Mahâ-kâvya* was expected to show such Chitrabandhas as *Sarvatobhadra, Chakra, Gomûtrikâ*,[55] etc. Mâgha cannot be later than A. D. 750,[56] as he is quoted by Vâmana in his *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtravṛitti* (under IV. 3. 10, the verse *Ubhau yadi*, Mâgha III. 8). It is in Rudraṭa and Bhôja that we have perhaps the fullest treatment of them. The *Kâvyânuśâsana* of Vâgbhaṭa and the *Vâgbhaṭâlaṁkâra* give a pretty full treatment of Chitrabandhas. Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka refer to them, but dispose of them in a few words.

Section VI.—The number of Arthâlaṁkâras.

Unlike *Śabdâlaṁkâras*, the number of *Arthâlaṁkâras* has generally been large and has been subject to great fluctuations. We may safely, affirm that as a general rule, the more ancient a writer is, the fewer is the number of figures treated of by him. Bharata speaks of only four *Alaṁkâras*. Daṇḍin, Bhaṭṭi, Bhâmaha, Udbhaṭa, and Vâmana treat of from thirty to forty figures. Mammaṭa speaks of more than sixty, while Ruyyaka adds a few more. The *Chandrâloka* (13th century) speaks of a hundred figures of speech, to which the *Kuvalayânanda* adds about a score more. This is the highest number known to us. Jagannâtha prefers a smaller number of figures, although he is later than the author of the *Kuvalayânanda*. If for some slight difference a different figure of speech were to be defined, there would be no end of figures, as remarked by Daṇḍin.[57]

Section VII.—Basis of Division.

In the ancient writers there is no basis of division. Daṇḍin, Bhâmaha, Vâmana and Udbhaṭa give no classification of the figures of sense. They generally first speak of Upamâ and some other *Alaṁkâras* based upon it and the rest are treated of at random; *e. g.*, Daṇḍin puts Vibhâvanâ between Vyatireka and Samâsokti. It is Rudraṭa who first gives a fourfold division of *Arthâlaṁkâras*.[58] Mammaṭa seems to have had in view no scientific basis of division. The *Alaṁkâra-sarvasva* gives, first of all, the figures based upon *aupamya* (resemblance); then those based upon *virodha* (contradiction); then those based upon *śṛiṅkhalâ* (chain), such as Kâraṇamâlâ Mâlâdîpaka, Ekâvali; then the figures based upon *tarka-nyâya, kâvya-nyâya* and *loka-nyâya*; then the figures based upon the apprehension of a hidden sense; and lastly those based upon the combination of figures such as Saṁkara and Saṅsṛishṭi. The *Ekâvali*, the *Pratâparudrîya* and the *Sâhityadarpaṇa* generally follow this classification. Jagannâtha also speaks of figures based upon *aupamya, virodha,* and *śṛiṅkhalâ*. From *Kâvyaliṅga* downwards he does not mention any express basis of classification; but appears to have followed in the main the *Alaṁkâra-sarvasva*.

In the limited space at our disposal it is not possible to enter on a historical treatment of even a few figures of sense. A volume will have to be allotted to this purpose. It should be noted that, although by A. D. 600 about thirty figures had been named and defined, there is a good deal of divergence as to the exact scope of each figure. The nomenclature of the *Arthâlaṁkâras* shows great variations. Svabhâvokti is also called Jâti by some; Yathâsaṁkhya is called Krama; some figures such as Nipuṇa (mentioned by Bhaṭṭi), Leśa (mentioned by Daṇḍin) are rarely defined by other writers. The Viśeshokti of Vâmana is quite different from the same figure as defined by others. Very divergent views were held as regards *ślesha*. We pass over the full examination of such points; because otherwise we shall have to enter into minute technicalities of the *Alaṁkâra-śâstra*, which it is not our present purpose to do.

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[54] The Aihoḷe Inscription; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 7.

[55] *Vishamaṁ Sarvatobhadra-chakra-gomûtrikâ-dibhiḥ | Slokair=iva mahâkâvyam vyûhais-tadabhavad-balam ||* Śiśu XIX. 41.

[56] With regard to Mâgha's date, see now the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalâta (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 189-90).—D. R. B.

[57] *Te châdyâpi vikalpante kas=tân kârtsyena vakshyati* || *K. D.* II. 1.

[58] *Arthasy=âlaṁkârâ Vâstavam=aupamyam-atiśayaś-śleshaḥ* |

COINS OF AJAYADEVA AND SOMALADEVI.

BY PANDIT GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA; AJMER.

(1) Coins of Ajayadeva.

SILVER and copper coins of Ajayadeva with an effigy of a seated goddess on the obverse, and the inscription 'श्रीअजयदेव' on the reverse, are frequently met with in Râjputânâ, Mathurâ, and other places. Prinsep, General Sir A. Cunningham, Captain W. W. Webb, and others have published facsimiles of them and have tried to show to what king they belong; but, in my opinion, their efforts have not been successful.

Ajayadeva's coins are held by Prinsep[1] to be the coins of the Râṭhoṛs of Kanauj, but as there has been no king of the name of Ajayadeva amongst them, he tries to get out of this difficulty by making an assumption, for which there is hardly any justification. Speaking of these coins he says: "One of our coins undoubtedly belongs to the former prince (*i.e.*, Jayachandra) and it may perhaps be allowable to give the last two, figs. 7 and 8[2], to Jayachandra himself, whose proper name may have been Ajaya Chandradeva; the family name Chandra being frequently omitted both in writings and inscriptions."[3]

Prinsep was the first to hold Ajayadeva's coins to be those of the Râṭhoṛs. His principal reason for this opinion evidently is that these coins bear an effigy of a seated goddess like the coins of the Râṭhoṛs. This, however, is hardly sufficient to assign these coins to the Râṭhoṛs; for we find an effigy of a seated goddess on the coins of many dynasties besides the Râṭhoṛs, such as Tomaras, Kalachuris of Ḍâhala, and Chandels of Mohobâ. Moreover, there is no authority whatever for holding Jayachandra and Ajayadeva to be one and the same king, or for holding that Chandra was the family name of these kings. In no inscription of the Râṭhoṛs (Gâhaṛvâls) of Kanauj do we find the name Ajayadeva for Jayachandra. In these circumstances there is no reason whatever to assign these coins to the Râṭhoṛs.

Relying on the authority of Prinsep, Captain W. W. Webb[4] and General Sir A. Cunningham[5], holding Ajayadeva to be the same person as Ajaya-Chandra (Jay-chand),[5] have also assigned these coins to Jayachandra.

As a matter of fact Ajayadeva was a great Chauhân king, who founded the city of Ajmer, and his coins are found in various places in Râjputânâ, which were under the rule of the Chauhân kings of Ajmer. Ajayadeva's silver coins were current[6] in the realm in the time of Ajayadeva's grandson, king Someśvara, as appears from an unpublished inscription[6] of [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1228 = 1171 A. D., existing on a pillar in the Rûṭhî Râṇî's temple at Dhoḍ, in Jahâzpur District, Mewâṛ. They are also mentioned in the Menâl (in Mewâr) inscription of [Vikrâma-] Saṁvat 1225 = 1168 A. D.[7]

Owing to these reasons in A. D. 1906, while editing the Hindî translation of Tod's *Râjasthân*, I assigned these coins to the Chauhân king Ajayadeva of Ajmer in my notes, p. 400.[8] A perusal of *Pṛithvîrâja-vijaya*, the historical poem of the Chauhâns, has confirmed me in this opinion, for we

[1] *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 292. [2] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, pl. xxiv. [3] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 292.

[4] *Currencies of the Hindu States of Râjputânâ*, p. 39, pl. iv. 1. [5] *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 87, pl. ix. 17

[6] तत्कालवर्तमानरौप्यमयश्रीअजयदेवमुद्रांकितद्रम्म १६ षोडश... (Dhoḍ Ins.)

[7] *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Survey, W. C.*, for 1906, p. 59.

[8] Published by the Khadgavilâs Press, Bankipore.

find the following verses in regard to the silver coins of Ajayadeva in the account of that king in *Sarga* V of the poem :—

स दुर्वर्णमयैर्भूमिं रूपकैः पर्यपूपुरत् ।
तां सुवर्णमयैस्तत्र कविवर्गस्त्वपूरयत् ॥
कीर्तिं स वर्तमानानां भटैर्जह्रे जयप्रियैः ।
अतीतानागतानां तु रूपकैरजयप्रियैः[9] ॥

"He (Ajayadeva) filled the earth with *rûpakas* (coins) made of *durvarṇa* (silver), but the poets filled it with *rûpakas* (dramas) composed in *suvarṇa* (good letters).

"He took away the fame of the existing [kings] by soldiers fond of victory (*jaya*), but the fame of past and future [kings] he took away by *rûpakas* (coins) dear to Ajaya."

The verses quoted above leave no doubt that these coins belong to the Chauhân king Ajayadeva of Ajmer.

(2) Coins of Somaladevî.

Silver and copper coins of Somaladevî are frequently met with in different places in Râjputânâ. But the question as to whose queen this Somaladevî was has not yet been settled.

The silver coins of Somaladevî, which are rare, bear on the obverse a degraded representation of type 'King's head,' commonly known as Gadhiâ-kâ-paisâ type, and on the reverse, the inscription श्रीसोमलदेवि or श्रीसोमलदेवी in Nâgarî characters. Her copper coins have on the obverse the effigy of a horseman, which generally appears on the coins of the Chauhân kings of Ajmer, and on the reverse the inscription श्रीसोमलदेवि or श्रीसोमलदेवी.

Prinsep for the first time published facsimiles of one silver[10] and five copper[11] coins of Somaladevî, but he read the inscription on the silver coin 'श्रीसा...लदेव'[10] and that on the copper coins 'श्रीसाम...देव,'[11] and remarked: "A scrutiny of the whole series (some not included in the plate) has elicited the letters श्रीसाम...देव ; the blank may be filled up with the letters न्तपा, making the whole title *sri Sâmanta Pâla-deva* ; or if it be thought that there is not room for other letters, it may stand as *sri Sâmala-deva*."[12]

Prinsep thus supposed these coins to belong to a prince called Sâmantapâladeva or Sâmaladeva, which was due to the fact that the inscription was not properly deciphered.

In A.D. 1894, General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Coins of Mediæval India*, published two good specimens[13] of the silver coins of Somaladevî, but reading the inscription on them as *Śrî-Somaladeva*,[14] assigned them to a king of that name. This reading of General Sir A. Cunningham was also incorrect.

Later on in A. D. 1900, Prof. E. G. Rapson read the inscriptions[15] on the two silver coins published by General Sir A. Cunningham as श्रीसोमलदेवि[16] and श्रीसोमलदेवी[17] respectively. This is the correct reading, but the question as to who this Somaladevî was remained unsettled. The learned writer stated: "It seems, therefore, that we have here the coins of a queen. Who this queen was we cannot yet determine. We can only note that we know of a queen Somalladevî, wife of Jajalladeva II, one of the Kalacuris of Mahâkośala (Haihayas of Ratnapura), whose Malhâr inscription is dated [Cedi-] Saṁvat 919 = A. D. 1167-68. The arrangement of the inscription on these coins of Somaladevî, and the style of the Nâgarî characters are certainly those of the

[9] Jonarâja's Commentary : दुर्वर्णं रौप्यं दुश्च वर्णश्च तन्मयै रूपकैर्दीनारविशेषैर्नाटकैश्च स भुवमपूरयत्सौवर्णैः सुवर्णमयैश्शोभनाक्षरमयैश्च कविवर्गस्तामपूरयत् ॥ जयः प्रियो येषां तैर्भटैः करणभूतैर्वर्तमानानां कीर्तिमहरत् । अजयस्य राज्ञः प्रियैरूपकैर्दीनारविशेषैश्च भूतानां भाविनां च राज्ञां कीर्तिमहरत् ॥

[10] Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, pl. xxvii. 17.

[11] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, pl. xxv. 9-13.

[12] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 304.

[13] *Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. vi. 10-11.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 53.

[15] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 121.

[16] On No. 10.

[17] On No. 11.

known coins of the Kalacuris of Mahâkośala, which belong to a period extending from *c.* A. D. 1060 to *c.* A. D. 1140 (Cunn., *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 76; cf. pl. vi. 10, with pl. viii. 6-11); but it would be rash to make this suggested identification of the Somaladevî of the coins on this evidence alone."[18]

No advance beyond this stage was made. The facts (1) that the inscription of [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1226 (of the time of the Chauhân king Someśvara) engraved on a rock near Bijoliâ in Mewâr gives the name of the queen of the Chauhân king Ajayadeva of Ajmer as Somalladevî (तत्पुत्रोजयदेव इत्यवनिपः सोमल्लदेवीपतिः), (2) that these coins are generally found in places which were under the sway of the Chauhâns, and (3) that the copper coins bear an effigy of a horseman on the obverse, led me in A. D. 1906 to hold in a note in my edition of the Hindî translation of Tod's *Râjasthân* (p. 400), that these coins belong to Somaladevî, queen of the Chauhân king Ajayadeva of Ajmer.

This view receives full support from the celebrated poem *Prithvîrâja-vijaya* ; for, speaking of Somalekhâ (Somaladevî), queen of the Chauhân king Ajayadeva, the poet says :—

सोमल्लेखा प्रियाप्यस्य प्रत्यहं रूपकैर्नवैः ।
कृतैरपि न संस्पर्शे कलङ्केन समासदत्[19] ॥ (*Sarga* V.)

" Also his (Ajayadeva's) dear consort Somalekhâ, though she made new *rûpakas* (coins) every day, was not touched by *kalaṅka* (dark spot)."

This verse immediately follows the verse कीर्तैं स वर्तमानानां etc., given above in part 1 of this article, and clearly shows that these coins belong to Somaladevî (Somalekhâ), whose name in the Bijoliâ inscription is given as Somalladevî, the queen of the Chauhân king Ajayadeva of Ajmer.

These coins are the only known coins of a queen in India, and I had first thought that Somaladevî probably became queen regent after Ajayadeva, and these coins related to the period of her rule. And in the note[20] in which I assigned these coins to Somaladevî, I also said that probably she had succeeded Ajayadeva as ruler of Ajmer during her son's minority. I now find, however, that the *Prithvîrâja-vijaya* makes no mention of such an event. It only says that she was very dear to her husband (Ajayadeva). The king therefore may have allowed her to strike coins, out of love for her, as she was very fond of designing them.

It may also be mentioned that we often get coins of Ajayadeva and Somaladevî in the same collection. About 20 years ago, Râo Ratansinh of Pârsoli (in Mewâr) found an earthern pot containing 20 copper coins, all of Ajayadeva and Somaladevî only, which the Râo handed over to me intact. These coins of Ajayadeva and Somaladevî found together, unaccompanied with those of any other ruler, also confirm my view.

The silver and copper coins of Somaladevî are of different designs, and they both differ from those of her husband in type; this is probably due to the fact that the Hindus were never very particular about the designs of their coins and did not attach so much importance to them as is done now. Even the Guptas, who were more particular than the others in this matter, after their conquest of the kingdom of the Western Kshatrapas, allowed the design of the Kshatrapa coins to stand in their new silver coins struck for the newly conquered territory, in so much that no change was made on the obverse of thesecoins, the inscription on the reverse alone having been changed.

Moreover, we find that the coins introduced in the 6th century A. D. by the Hûṇas, now known as the 'Gadhiâ coins,' remained current in Râjputânâ, Gujarât, etc. (the designs became debased as time passed), but none of the rulers, who flourished in these regions from the 7th to the 11th century, designed coins of his own till the time of Ajayadeva and Somaladevî : even the latter, on her silver coins, has allowed the 'Gadhiâ-kâ-paisâ' type to remain on the obverse.

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[18] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 121.

[19] Jonarâja's Commentary : तस्य प्रिया सोमलेखाख्या राज्ञी चन्द्रलेखा च प्रत्यहं नवैः कृतै रूपकैर्दीनारविशेषैर्मृगैश्च हेतुभिः कलङ्केन पापेन लाञ्छनेन च स्पर्शं न प्रापत् ॥

[20] Tod's *Râjasthân*, Hindi, p. 400.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 200.*)

Sin : a boundary ; *tarsin*, the trijunction point of three villages.

Singh : a snake-god. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 151.

Singhâra : a fish (*Macrones lamarrii*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Singhi : a fish not very common, and very repulsive looking, very dark purple or red. Said to be a good table fish ; but its looks rather keep people from trying it. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 18.

Singi : a fish (*Saccobranchus fossilis*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Sinh : a tiger. Bauria *argot.*

Sink : an iron spike which surmounts a shrine. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 144.

Sir : a small running spring ; in distributing canal water the word is used to express a measure of water about 4 inches square.

Sir : a very poor sandy soil. Cf. *khîsar.* Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 70.

Sir : a small roughly terraced compartment of cultivation. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Sirak : a form of epidemic disease. Cf. *bawa* and *marri.* Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 133.

Sirdâri : an allowance of Rs. 25 a day. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 9.

Siri : partnership. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 183.

Sirinah (serina) : one-fortieth of the produce demand of a landlord : lit. one *ser* per maund. Karnâl S. R., p. 103.

Sitlâ's 7th : the 7th of Chet on which day enormous crowds collect at the shrines. Cf. *sil* and *sili sâten.* Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 150.

Siul : a kind of grain parched and eaten at fasts. Churâh.

Siyan : any ploughing after the second (fr. *seu*) ; see under *boghâr.*

Ske : why ? as, *ske jâi ho ?* why are you going ? Bauria *argot.*

So : he ; *tera*, of him ; *ehbi*, to him ; *ehna*, from him ; plural, *ten, tinhâra, inonbi, innonâ* (Kulû).

Soâna : grazing ground. Kângra S. R., p. 8.

Sog : mourning; *bandhnâ, bhanna*, to break, to end the mourning. Churâh.

Sogi : a companion. Kângra Gloss.

Sonâ : a figure drawn in red on houses on the Salono day. Probably to represent the Shravana *nakshatra.* Gurgaon.

Sonchi : a game played throughout the Punjab : one man runs backward, and two follow and try to catch him, he pushing them off with open hands. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 70.

Sonchi pakki : a game in which one player walks backwards and strikes another, who follows him, on the breast with the open hand, while the other tries to catch his hand. Jullundur S. R., p. 65.

Sat : a hard dark clay soil. Cf. *satar.* Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 12.

Sat lenâ : the carrying the plough to and from the fields, by hanging it over the yoke between the bullocks. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 168.

Satar : a hard dark clay soil. Cf. *sat*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 12.

Sowa : fennel (*Fœniculum panmorium*). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Sowâna : buffaloes' grazing-ground. Cf. *sodna*. Kângra Gloss.

Sowârû : a small plot of land in front of a house; if behind it, it is called *pichwârû*. Kângra Gloss.

Sûâ : a shallow surface drain. Cf. *âgam*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 293.

Suârthî : self-seeking.

Subh chirtak : well-wisher.

Suchajjâ : s. m. f. i., adj. clever, capable, a good manager.

Suchcha : when all the milk of a village is devoted to the local Nâg, in Pângî, and other parts of the Chandra Bhâga valley of Chamba, during a part of (or even the whole of) Sâwan it is called *suchcha*, and is not drunk; though it may be churned and made into *ghi*, the buttermilk being stirred and used at feasts held on certain days throughout the month.

Sudhâr : s. m., correction.

Sufeda : a small mango fruit of white colour. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Sugal : a spring. Cf. *suhrâ*.

Suhra, suhr, or sugal : a spring of water; in Kulû, *jâhrû*. Kângra Gloss.

Sukhchain : a second class rice. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 88.

Sukhlambari : *mâfi* cases. Hisar S. R. p. 2.

Sukhpâl : a palanquin. Kuthâr.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

ON SOME MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE LAUKIKANYAYANJALI.

MY attention has just been directed to a criticism of my *Laukikanyâyâñjali*, *ante*, p. 33 ff, and I write at once to crave a little space for some remarks thereon.

I thank Prof. Chakravartti for his appreciation of my labours (extending over half a century) in the delightful field of Sanskrit literature, and for his friendly criticism of the work under notice. It is unfortunate, however, that he should have made use of the old edition (Part I having first appeared in 1900, and Part II in 1902); for had he been in possession of the later one he would have known that I had myself corrected some of the mistakes which he points out, and had also offered an explanation of similes in regard to which I was previously in doubt. He would have found, too, that the naughty word "rubbish," which had been applied to a definition furnished by the learned Târânâtha Tarkavâchaspati, had disappeared from the book! I need scarcely say that I have the highest respect for the learned writings of that great scholar; but, as pointed out by Kumârila (in *Tantravârtika*,[1] pp. 200, 201), even great grammarians, authors of *sûtras*, *vârtikas*, and *bhâshyas*, have made mistakes, and errors abound in *Itihâsas* and *Purâṇas*. The man who has never made mistakes has yet to be discovered!

I gladly accept the Professor's fuller interpretation of the विपुलकदलीफल *nyâya*, inadequately rendered by Prof. Gough, and also that of the saying commencing with the words तपनीयमपनीय, in respect of which I myself went somewhat astray; but I am not yet prepared to abandon my view of the general purport of यादृशो यक्षस्तादृशो बलिः, for does not the fact, that Vâchaspati Miśra quotes it (as I have pointed out) in conjunction (and, apparently, as synonymous) with the saying अहृदयत्राचामहृदया एव प्रतिवाचो भवन्ति, furnish fairly good ground for attaching to it the meaning of "tit-for-tat"?

As to the गले पादुका *nyâya*, my objection to Raghunâthavarman's interpretation was owing to the ridiculous setting in which he placed it. There was no need of dragging in a विट in order to illustrate its meaning, and I am quite ready to adopt the Professor's explanation as perhaps

[1] See under अश्वारूढाः कथं चाश्वान्विस्मरेयुः सचेतनाः in Part III of my *Maxims* (2nd ed.).

more suitable than that of Mr. Arthur Venis on which I relied.

I must join issue, however, with my learned critic in regard to his remarks in connection with the उष्ट्रकण्टकभक्षणन्याय. In explaining it I quoted a passage from the *Bib. Ind.* edition of *Bhâmatî*, part of which stands thus:—यदि पुनरेत एव सुखदुःखस्वभावा भवेयुस्ततः स्वरूपत्वाद्धेमन्तेऽपि चन्दनः सुखः स्यात् । न हि चन्दनः कदाचिदचन्दनः । तथा निदाघेष्वपि कुंकुमपंकः सुखो भवेत् । न ह्यसौ कदाचिदकुंकुमपंकः । एवं कण्टकः क्रमेलकस्य सुख इति मनुष्यादीनामपि प्राणभृतां सुखः स्यात् । न ह्यसौ कांश्चित्प्रत्येव कण्टक इति ॥ Now is it not at once apparent that the final clause is out of harmony with the two preceding ones, and that instead of कण्टकः we need either अकण्टकः or the alternative negative expression न कण्टकः ? One's critical instinct demanded such a reading, and I candidly admit that, on my own authority, but *not* "in the fashion of the uncritical Indian scribe," I adopted the former of the two, and notified the same in a footnote. But what about the MSS ? Do they bear me out in this? The Professor tells us that, in place of the प्रत्येव कण्टकः of the *Bib. Ind.* edition, the Sanskrit College MSS. read प्रत्यकण्टकः, whilst those of the Asiatic Society have प्रति न कण्टकः. Of the four in the India Office Library, one has the former, and two have the latter, of the above readings; whilst the remaining one (No. 1879, comprising the text of the *Kalpataru* as well as that of the *Bhâmatî*) supports the printed text. The negative form of the expression may, therefore, be confidently accepted as the right one, and the Professor himself approves of that found in the College MSS. Why, then, does he regard my alteration as "uncalled for"? It is true that the particle एव should have been eliminated, but that is a comparatively small matter.

I fear that I may have no opportunity of utilizing the useful material now placed at my disposal, since there is little likelihood of a demand for a third edition of the *Similes* during my lifetime; moreover, at the age of 72 one must prepare to quit the field altogether. I hope, however, that I have aroused interest in this much-neglected, but fascinating, branch of study, and that younger men may be led to take it up.

G. A. JACOB.

SOLECISMS OF SAMKARACHARYA AND KALIDASA.

THE Sanskrit language of Śaṁkarâchârya, the founder of the *Advaita* school, is considered to be so chaste and idiomatic that it is inconceivable, nay sacrilegious, to think that he has committed any solecisms. Yet the following forms which occur in his gloss on the *Chhândogya-Upanishad* cannot, I am afraid, be defended by any rules of grammar. Thus in his comment on *Adhyâya* I, *Khaṇḍa* 6, v. 1, Śaṁkarâchârya says: *Yathâ-cha Ṛik-sâmanî n-âtyantaṁ bhinne.* According to Pâṇini V. 4, 77, instead of *Ṛik-sâmanî* we should here have *Ṛik-sâme.* Similarly in his *Bhâshya* on *A.* VIII, *K.* 8, v. 4, he uses the form *gachchheyâtâm* instead of *gachchhetâm.* Lastly, the ungrammatical form *marishye* occurs at the very beginning of his gloss on *A.* VIII, *K.* 12, v. 3, which is prohibited by and ought to have been *marishyâmi* in accordance with Pâṇini I. 3, 61. These solecisms are by no means surprising when they are found even in the composition of the most renowned poet, Kâlidâsa. Thus in *Kumâra-saṁbhava* I. 35 and *Raghu-vaṁśa* XIV, 23, the form *âsa* is used, which is not justified by Pâṇini II. 4, 52. Similarly, in *Raghu-vaṁśa* V. 34; V. 61; XIX. 50, the forms *jagmivân*, *tasthivân* and *Kâmayâna* have been employed by him which cannot be correct according to Pâṇini III. 2, 107 and III. 1, 30.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

A GUPTA-VAKATAKA COPPERPLATE GRANT

I HAVE lately discovered an interesting copperplate grant. It consists of 2 plates, each plate being inscribed on one side only. The characters of the grant resemble those of the Early Gupta Inscriptions. The legend on the seal reads thus:—

वाकाटक-ललामस्य
क्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-श्रियः ।
जनन्या-युवराजस्य
शासनं-रिपुशासनं ॥

The genealogy of the Guptas given in the grant is as follows:—

1. Guptâdirâja.
2. Śrî-Ghaṭotkacha.
3. Mahârâja Śrî-Chandragupta I.
4. Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Samudragupta.
5. Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Chandragupta II.

We are further told that Chandragupta II. married Kuberanâgâ. Their daughter was Śrî-Prabhâvatî who was the crowned queen of Śrî-Rudrasena, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas. Her son was the *Yuvarâja* Śrî-Divâkarasena. During his minority, as is evident from the legend on the seal, the present grant was issued by his mother the queen regent Prabhâvatî. In another Vâkâṭaka copperplate she is spoken of as the daughter of Devagupta. Is it possible that Devagupta was another name of Chandragupta II?

Poona. K. B. Pathak.

BOOK-NOTICES.

The Religion of the Iranian Peoples, by C. P. Thiele. Translated by G. K. Nariman. Bombay, 1912. The Parsi Publishing Coy.

Mr. G. K. Nariman has rendered a notable service to his countrymen by the publication of the translations contained in this little book. It is of great consequence to the reading portion of the Parsi community that they should have at ready command the results of the learning and research of such scholars as Thiele in a language which they understand as well as Englishmen themselves. It is, therefore, very gratifying to all interested in the welfare of the Parsis to find that there are amongst them those who can supply their wants in this direction, for not only has Mr. Nariman translated the work of Thiele from the original German, but he has added to that great service by another in supplementing it with Goldziher's *Influence of Parsism on Islam* and Darmesteter's *Persia, a Historical and Literary Sketch* from the French. Further he has given, as an appendix to Thiele's work, a series of most useful and interesting parallels from Buddhistic writings.

Work of this kind is beyond question of great value to the community to which Mr. Nariman belongs, and one cannot help hoping that he will continue to select and translate European books and articles by writers of the first class. He can rest assured that the pages of this journal will always be open for such work.

R. C. Temple.

Namalinganusasana (Amarakosha) of Amarasiṁha with the commentary (Amarakoshodghâṭana) of Kshirasvâmin, Part I, edited by Krishnaji Govind Oka. Printed at the Law-printing Press, Poona City.

Of all the Sanskrit lexicons Amarakosha is considered to be the best. Every Brahman boy who learns Sanskrit has to get this *Kosha* by heart, in whatever part of India he lives. Its popularity is further evidenced by the number of commentaries that have been composed on it and that form a literature by itself. So far as my knowledge goes, we have two very good editions of this work printed in Bombay, one with a commentary called *Amaraviveka* of Maheśvara, edited by Vâmanâchârya Jhalakikar, and the other with the commentary of Bhânuji Dîkshita entitled *Vyâkhyâsudhâ*, and published by Pandit Śivadatta. We have thus a critically edited text of the *Amarkosha* presented to us. These commentaries too have their own use, and are, as such, perfectly welcome. But the most ancient and important of them all is that of Kshîrasvâmin known as *Amarakoshodghâṭana*. An attempt had been made by the Bengali scholar Anundoram Borooah to edit it together with that of Râyamukuṭa. But hardly two-thirds of the first *Kâṇḍa* had been published when his untimely and greatly lamented death occurred, and a complete and reliable edition of this commentary continued to be a great desideratum. This arduous work has now been undertaken by Mr. K. G. Oka. Part I of it, which contains the first two *Kâṇḍas*, is already out, and Part II is in the press, and is expected to come out in three or four months' time. This last will contain the third *Kâṇḍa* together with a paper on Amarasiṁha and Kshîrasvâmin, a list of works and authors quoted by the latter, a glossary of words and so forth.

The importance of Kshîrasvâmin's commentary will be patent to anyone, who reads Anundoram Borooah's preface to his partially published edition of the *Nâmaliṅgânuśâsana*. The list of the lexicographical, medical, and other authorities, which the commentator quotes, is as invaluable as it is extensive, and shows the depth and versatility of his knowledge. His critical acumen also is perceptible in the places where he sets right the errors not only of Amarasiṁha but also of other lexicographers. Thus on *Amara* II. 4, 59, he says: बालपत्रो यवासः खदिरश्चेति वृत्यर्थेषु धन्वन्तरिपाठमदृष्ट्वा बालपुत्रभ्रान्त्या ग्रन्थकृद्बालतनयमाह । सूक्ष्मपर्णोऽप्यसौ ।. On *Amara* II. 4, 146, he has the following: पुष्करमूले त्रीणि नामानि । पद्मपत्र-

मिति ग्रन्थकृद्भ्रान्तः, पद्मवर्णेति लिपिभ्रान्त्या पद्मपर्णमिति बुद्धवान्, यदाह—मूलं पुष्करमूलं च पौष्करं पुष्कराह्वयम्। काश्मीरं पुष्करजटा धीरं तत्पद्मवर्णकम् ॥ Again, on *Amara* II. 9, 51, Kshîrasvâmin comments: दृप्यति [अनेन] द्रप्सम्। घनादन्यघनमित्यर्थः, यन्माला—द्रप्सं दध्यघनं तथा। एतच्च द्रप्सं शरमिति भागुरिपाठे सरमति बुद्ध्वा मालाकारो भ्रान्तः। केचिन्नष्टैस्तु नाशिता इत्ययमपि मालापाठेन विप्रलब्धः, यदाह दुर्गः—बाणद्रप्सौ शराविति। इत्थं तु समर्थ्यं, तरदुपरि प्लवमानं घनं दधि द्रप्सम्।

At times Kshîrasvâmin gives us a peep into the relative priority and posteriority of authors as preserved by tradition in his time, and, as such, it is of immense value. To cite one instance, on the word *manda* in II. 10, 19, of the *Amarakosha* he makes the following comment: मन्दते स्वपितीव मन्दः अत एव मदि जाड्य इति चान्द्रो धातुः। What he means is this. In the *Dhâtu-pâṭha* of Pâṇini we have मदि स्तुतिमोदमदस्वप्न कान्तिगतिषु, and here *jâḍya* is not given as another sense of the root *mad*. But Amara has mentioned *manda* in the sense of *jâḍa*, and hence Chandra's *Dhâtuvṛitti* gives *jâḍya* as another meaning of *mad*. If this interpretation is correct, Kshîrasvâmin implies that Amara was prior to Chandra. Amara must therefore be taken to have flourished prior to *circa* A. D. 450 when Chandra or Chandragomin, teacher of Vasurâta, is supposed to have flourished.[1] This runs quite counter to the view of Prof. Weber that Amara could not have lived much earlier than the 11th century A. D. But Weber's view cannot possibly be correct, for the well known line *tantraṁ pradhâne siddhânte* from *Amarakosha* has been quoted in the *Kâśikâ vivaraṇa-pañchikâ* by Jinendrabuddhi who has been conclusively shown by Prof. Pathak to have flourished in the first half of the 8th century.[2] This is certain and indubitable. To this it may be added that "Stanlslas Julien quotes a Chinese translation of the Amarakosha called Fân-wâi-kwo-yu, or Kü-shö-lun-yin-yuen-sh', by Guṇarata, a native of Ujjayinî, who lived under the Emperor Wou-ti of the Tcheon dynasty (561-566), though he does not know whether it is still in existence."[3] Further, Rao Saheb Prabhakar R. Bhandarkar has also given cogent reasons for supposing Amara to have lived earlier than Kâlidâsa. The word *mârjanâ*, as shown by him, occurs in the *Amarakosha*, but not in the technical sense assigned to it by the *Bhâratîya-nâṭya-śâstra*, but this word occurs in its technical sense in Kâlidâsa. Amara was thus prior to Kâlidâsa, *i. e.*, prior to A. D. 400, the time of Chandragupta II, who is now taken by several scholars of repute to be the patron Vikramâditya of Kâlidâsa. This view exactly tallies with what Kshîrasvâmin insinuates, *viz.*, that Amara was earlier than Chandragomin.

The importance of Kshîrasvâmin's commentary does not end here. One of its unique features is the quotations it gives from the works of Sanskrit poets. To take one instance, in connection with the word *halâhala* occurring in the *Amarakosha* I. 7, 10, he cites the following verse: मधु तिष्ठति वाचि योषितां हृदये हालहलं महाविषम्. It will be easily perceived that this verse is met with in Bhartṛihari's *Śṛingâra-Śataka*. But it is worthy of note that all the printed editions of this *Śataka* have हृदि हालाहलमेव केवलं instead of हृदये हालहलं महाविषम्. But this verse is actually found in the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghosha[4] in almost the same form in which it is cited by Kshîrasvâmin, the only difference being that the printed text has महद्विषं instead of महाविषम्.

We are thus very glad to find that the edition of *Amarakosha* together with Kshîrasvâmin's commentary has been undertaken by Mr. Oka. So far as Part I, which is out, is concerned, he seems to have done his work, on the whole, satisfactorily. His edition contains very few misprints, and is free from the errors which are discernible in what little of this commentary was published by Anundoram Borooah. Mr. Oka has also succeeded in tracing many more quotations in the original works of Sanskrit authors from which Kshîrasvâmin has cited them. One defect may, however, be mentioned. In tracing the quotations he has mentioned only the names of the author and his work in which they occur, without also specifying the number of the chapter and verse. It is sincerely hoped that this defect will be remedied in Part II, at any rate in the case of the quotations which are not well-known and cannot be at once found out even though we are informed in which works they occur.

D. R. B.

[1] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1905, p. 45.

[2] *Jour. Bomb. As Soc.*, Vol. XX, p. 306.

[3] Max Müller's *India: What can it teach us?* p. 328.

[4] Canto VIII, verse 35. (The work has been edited by M. M. Haraprasada Shastri in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series).

THE CHOLAS AND THE CHALUKYAS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BY BHATTANATHA SVAMIN; VIZAGAPATAM.

It is well-known from epigraphical records that the line of the Eastern Châlukyas was absorbed in the Chôḷa family about A. D. 1070. As soon as the Eastern Châlukyas gained supremacy in the Chôḷa kingdom, they assumed the titles of the Chôḷa kings, perhaps because, they had regarded the Chôḷas with admiration and been anxious for a long time to attain to their status and titles. But how the Eastern Châlukya princes were able to occupy the Chôḷa throne is a problem which has not yet been solved.

The Eastern Châlukya king Vimalâditya began to reign, as stated in his Raṇastipûndi grant, in A. D. 1011.[1] He married Kundavâ, daughter of Râjarâja I of the Chôḷa family, and their son was named after the maternal grandfather. He is the well-known Râjarâja Narêndra of Râjahmundry. It appears that Vimalâditya and his successors of Vêṅgi became feudatories of the Chôḷas, for the Korumilli inscription of Râjarâja Narêndra[2] undoubtedly acknowledges the supremacy of the Chôḷas. Ammaṅgi, daughter of Râjnêdrachôḷa I, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa, was married to Râjarâja Narêndra.[3] He ascended the throne on the sixteenth of August A. D. 1022[4] and ruled forty-one years.[5] The famous Telugu poet Nannayabhaṭṭa lived at the court of this king and dedicated his Telugu *Bhâratamu* to him.[6]

After the death of Râjarâja Narêndra, Vijayâditya, another son of Vimalâditya, ruled over the Vêṅgi country for fifteen years from A. D. 1062 to 1077.[7] In the year A. D. 1062 Vîrarâjêndra, the last son of Râjêndrachôḷa I, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa, ascended the throne of the Chôḷa country.[8] An inscription of his second regnal year[9] refers to a battle where he defeated an army which was sent into Vêṅgi by Vikramâditya VI of the Western Châlukya family. This battle can be, hence, dated about A. D. 1062-1063, *i. e.*, soon after the death of Râjarâja Narêndra. Probably Vikramâditya wanted to wrest Vêṅgi soon after Râjarâja Narêndra died, but apparently Vîrarâjêndra helped Vijayâditya of the Eastern Châlukya family to succeed to his brother's throne.

Vêṅgi was again plundered by Dhârâ-Jananâtha and others about A. D. 1067, for this event is mentioned in the inscriptions of the fifth and subsequent years of Vîrarâjêndra's reign.[10] In an inscription,[11] Vanapati, the minister of the Kaliṅga king Râjarâja, (who ruled for 8 years from Saka 991 or A. D. 1069 to Saka 998 or A. D. 1076[12]) is said to have fought with the army of the Chôḷas and to have defeated the ruler of Vêṅgi. This battle seems to be the same as that mentioned in the inscriptions of Vîrarâjêndra. Mr. G. V. Râmamûrti Pantulu also thinks this Vêṅgi king to be Vijayâditya VII.[13] In Anantavarma's grant of Saka Saṃval 1040[14] Râjarâja of Kaliṅga is said to have defeated the Dramilas and to have thus helped Vijayâditya of Vêṅgi. Now, Vanapati's inscription and Anantavarma's grant refer to the same fact, but seem to contradict each other, because one makes the Kaliṅga king Râjarâja the enemy of the king of Vêṅgi and the other makes him the friend of Vijayâditya, the lord of Vêṅgi. This apparent absurdity will be removed if we assume that the grant of Anantavarma refers not to the king of Vêṅgi but to Vijayâditya, brother of Western Châlukya Vikramâditya VI, who also bore the

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1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI., pp. 347-361.
2 *Ante,* Vol. XIV., pp. 50-55.
3 *Ibid.* Vol. XIX., p. 430.
4 *Ibid.* pp. 129 ff.
5 *Ibid.* p. 431.
6 See the beginning of that work.
7 *Ante,* Vol. XIX., p. 431.
8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII., p. 9.
9 *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III., p. 193.
10 *Ibid*, Nos. 30, 82, 83, and 84.
11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-318.
12 *JASB.*, Vol. LXXII., Part I., p. 109.
13 *Ep. Ind*, Vol. IV., p. 315, note 4.
14 *Ante,* Vol. XVIII., p. 171.

title of Lord of Vêṅgi.[15] Apparently the latter Vijayâditya wanted to take possession of Vêṅgi with the help of the Kaliṅga king Râjarâja, but was defeated. If the inscriptions above referred to of Vîrarâjêndrachôḷa also refer to the same fact, we may infer that Dhârâ-Jananâtha also helped the Western Châlukya Vijayâditya and that Vîrarâjêndra helped his relative Vijayâditya, the Eastern Châlukya king of Vêṅgi, and defeated Dhârâ-Jananâtha and Râjarâja of Kaliṅga. Prof. Hultzsch is disposed to identify Vijayâditya of Anantavarma's grant with the Eastern Châlukya ruler of Vêṅgi and the Chôḷa who threatened to absorb his dominions with Râjêndrachôḷa II, *alias* Kulôttuṅgachôḷa I,[16] but this cannot be justified at all.

Another event mentioned in the inscriptions of Vîrarâjêndra is the treaty with Vikramâditya VI.[17] The earliest known reference to this event is found in the inscriptions of the fifth regnal year of Vîrarâjêndra, and hence it may be dated A. D. 1067. This treaty resulted, about 1069, in the marriage of a daughter of Vîrarâjêndra with Vikramâditya VI, which is described in *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*.[18]

Vîrarâjêndra seems to have died in his 8th regnal year or A. D. 1070,[19] when, according to *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, a rebellion arose in the Chôḷa country to prevent the succession of his son Adhirâjêndradêva. This rebellion seems to have lasted till the end of the year A. D. 1072, for we do not find any of Adhirâjêndra's inscriptions of that period. Vikramâditya VI heard the news and coming to Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram secured the kingdom for his brother-in-law,[20] about the end of the year A. D. 1072. Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that Râjêndrachôḷa II, son of Râjarâja Narêndra, who afterwards became Kulôttuṅgachôḷa I, must have organized this rebellion,[21] but there is absolutely no evidence for this. In A. D. 1074 there was another rebellion of Adhirâjêndradêva's subjects against him, in which Adhirâjêndradêva lost his life.[22] Adhirâjêndra was succeeded by Râjêndrachôḷa II in A. D. 1074-75.

The early history of Râjêndrachôḷa II will be now discussed. He, like Adhirâjêndra, was a descendant of the great Chôḷa king Râjêndrachôḷa I. Gaṅgaikoṇḍa, the latter being his son's son and the former his daughter's son. Râjêndrachôḷa II was the rightful heir of the Vêṅgi country, and he should have succeeded his father Râjarâja Narêndra in A. D. 1062. But, instead, the kingdom passed into the hands of his uncle Vijayâditya, already referred to, and we shall discuss how this could have happened. Prof. Hultzsch supposes the rightful heir Kulôttuṅga I to have been ousted by Vijayâditya with the help of Vîrarâjêndra.[23] If Râjêndrachôḷa, *alias* Kulôttuṅga I, was so treated by Vijayâditya, the former would have overthrown the latter soon after attaining supreme power in A. D. 1074-1075 as shown below. But such a thing did not take place. On the contrary, the inscriptions of Vêrachôḍa and Râjarâjachôḍagaṅga state that Râjêndrachôḷa II himself appointed his uncle Vijayâditya to govern Vêṅgi.[24]

It is apparent from *Avatâram* (the tenth canto) of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that Râjêndrachôḷa II remained in the house of his maternal grandfather till A. D. 1070. It appears from the same work that this was due to the partiality of his grandmother, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa's wife.[25] Further, Madhurântakî, daughter of Râjêndrachôḷadêva, son of Râjêndrachôḷa I. Gaṅgaikoṇḍa, became his wife.[26] Thus he was related as son-in-law, besides as grandson and grandson's son to the Chôḷa family. These continuous relations and association in an early age with the Chôḷas

15 Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, 2nd edition, p. 454.

16 *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III., p. 128 and note 11.

17 *Ibid.* pp. 69 and 203.

18 V. 28 to VI. 3.

19 This is the latest known regnal year of this king. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III., p. 192 Table.

20 *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* VI, 6 to 25.

21 *Ancient India*, pp. 128 and 50.

22 *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, canto VI. verse 26.

23 *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 128.

24 *Ante*, Vol. XIX., pp. 431 and 435, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., No. 35, v. 14.

25 *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, canto X., v. 6.

26 *Ante*, Vol. XIX., p. 430.

induced him, perhaps, to settle in their country and to be styled a member of their family. It may be with this desire he left the Vêṅgi country in the charge of his uncle Vijayâditya. Moreover, a portion, most probably the eastern one, of the Chôḻa kingdom seems to have been allotted to Râjêndrachôḻa II when Vîrarâjêndrachôḻa died. Râjêndrachôḻa II seems to have been installed as the ruler of the "Eastern country" which included the portion of the Chôḻa Empire allotted to him and the Vêṅgi country. This event must have taken place in A. D. 1070, the first regnal year of Râjêndrachôḻa II. [27]

Râjêndrachôḻa's inscriptions in his fourth regnal year have a detailed historical introduction which is given below in support of the above statement. "With his arms which resembled two mountains (*and between*) which the goddess of prosperity rested and shone, and with (*his*) sword as (*his*) only helps, (*the king*) overcame the treachery of (*his*) enemies; carried off many herds of elephants at Vayirâgaram (Vajrâkara); and was pleased to levy tribute (*which*) illuminated (*all*) directions from Dhârâ Araśa (Dhârâvarsha)[28] at the rich Śakkarakôṭṭam (Chakrakôṭṭa). He gently raised, without wearying (*her*) in the least, the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising of the sun,—just as (*the god*) Tirumâl (Vishṇu), having assumed the form of the primæval boar, had raised (*the earth*) on the day when (*she*) was submerged in the ocean (by the demon Hiraṇyâksha),—and seated (*her*) under the shade of his parasol, (*where she*) experienced delight. (*He*) made the wheel (*of his authority*) and the tiger (*-banner*) go in every direction and established (*his*) fame and justice in every country. While valour, liberality, pride and compassion, as (*his*) intimate relatives, were resplendent on the undivided earth, he took his seat (*on the throne*) with (*the goddess of*) victory and put on by right the jewelled crown of (*his*) family. While rulers of the earth bore his feet (*on their heads*), he wielded the sceptre in every (*quarter of the*) beautiful continent of the *nâval* tree."[29]

From this it is plain that Râjêndrachôḻa II had been by this time lord of east for three years, *i. e.*, he had been lord or governor of the Eastern Chôḻa country and lord of Vêṅgi since 1070. The inscriptions of Râjarâjachôḍagaṅga and Vîrachôḍa inform us that Râjêndrachôḻa II was crowned first as the king of Vêṅgi,[30] and this confirms a part of our inference. Râjêndrachôḻa's early inscriptions found in the Tamil country also prove that he had a portion of Tamil country under his rule. We may assume that Adhirâjêndra appointed him governor of the Eastern Chôḻa country as soon as he became king; this Adhirâjêndra was likely to have done, because he himself was confronted with rebellions and would have been glad if his cousin governed a portion of his land. The following fact further supports this inference. A certain *Sênâpati* Râjarâja Paranṛiparâkshasa, *alias* Vîraśôla Iḻaṅgôvelâr, the headman of Nadâr in Tirumurnâḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍârvalanâḍu, got two inscriptions cut, one in the dominions of Râjêndrachôḻadêva II in the second regnal year of that king,[31] and the other in the dominions of Adhirâjêndra in the third regnal year of that king.[32] In these inscriptions the rulers of these countries are spoken of in terms of equal respect. An officer of one dominion respecting the king of another dominion clearly shows that the rulers of these two dominions must have been great friends. Otherwise he would not have been allowed to cut such inscriptions in both the countries.

The theory that Râjêndrachôḻa II was crowned king of Vêṅgi in A.D. 1070 conflicts with the statement of Vîrachôḍa's inscriptions, already referred to, that Vijayâditya ruled over Vêṅgi

[27] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII., p. 7 and Vol. VI., 20.

[28] Prof. Hultzsch takes "Dârâvaraśan" to mean "the king of Dhârâ." But Mr. Hiralal is right in identifying Dârâvaraśa with Dhârâvarsha of the Sinda family. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 179 and note 2.

[29] *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III. pp. 122-4.

[30] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35, v. 8, and *ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 430.

[31] *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, No. 64.

[32] *Ibid.* No. 57.

from A. D. 1062 to A. D. 1078, but as it has been already proved that Râjêndrachôḷa II appointed Vijayâditya as his viceroy, there is no real contradiction to be explained. We must include the first four years (A. D. 1070 to 1074) of Râjêndrachôḷa II's reign in the fifteen years' reign of Vijayâditya as a governor of Vêṅgi, otherwise Vîrachôḍa's accession in Saka 1001 is impossible.[33] In the early years of his reign Râjêndrachôḷa II was engaged in wars in the Central Provinces as they are called now. Hence he could not come to help his sovereign Adhirâjêndradêva at the time of the above mentioned rebellion in 1070-71. Besides he could not rule Vêṅgi himself and intrusted it to Vijayâditya.[34]

Vijayâditya was firmly established in this office in A. D. 1074 when the subjects of the Chôḷa empire rebelled a second time and killed their king Adhirâjêndra as already stated. Even then Râjêndrachôḷa II was not able to go in time to save his sovereign, but went to the place after Adhirâjêndra's death and occupied the vacant throne, as stated in *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*,[35] and assumed the title of Kulôttungachôḷa. There being no enmity between the two we have no reason to suppose that a war between Râjêndrachôḷa II and Adhirâjêndra had taken place in A. D. 1074 as is said in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904 (page 12). *Divyasûricharita* of Garuḍavâhana Srînivâsa, which, as I understand it, supplies a detailed account of Adhirâjêndra's death, also supports my statement that Adhirâjêndra died in a rebellion. I quote below that portion of the work completely, as orientalists have not looked into it as yet, though it was written by a contemporary disciple of the well-known philosopher Râmânuja.[36]

Divyasûricharita, canto XVIII, vv. 71-89.

चोलेऽभूदथ कुलपांसनो नृशंसो
दोषाणामिव कलिजन्मनां समूहः ।
तद्वंशक्षयकरणाय मन्त्रनीत्या[37]
पाण्ड्यस्तं व्यतनुत शैवमार्गनिष्ठम् ॥

Then began to rule a cruel Chôḷa king, who brought disgrace to his family and who was like a collection of evils caused by Kali. Intending to destroy his family, a Pâṇḍya converted him to Saivism.

दुर्मेधाः परुषपुरोहितानुरोधी[38]
निर्भिद्य त्रिभुवननायकस्य विष्णोः ।
धामैकं[39] सुललितचित्रकूटमुख्यं
पाथोधेः पयसि स पातयांबभूव ॥

Following the advice of his cruel preceptor, the evil-minded Chôḷa destroyed the principal shrine at Chitrakûṭa (Chidambaram) dedicated to Vishṇu, the Lord of the three worlds, and threw it into the waters of the ocean.

आस्थान्यामखिलविपश्चितां पुरस्ता-
दाहूतस्वविषयवासिवैष्णवेभ्यः ।[40]
आदित्सत्परतरमस्ति नो शिवादि-[41]
त्याबद्धाक्षरपदमुच्चकैः स पत्रम् ॥

[33] *Ante*, Vol. XIX., p 431.

[34] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 35, v. 14.

[35] *Ante*, Vol. XIX., p. 332.

[36] This work is printed in Mysore (10th April 1885). A critical edition with an introduction has been undertaken by me.

[37] Printed copy reads 'मन्त्रि'

[38] MS. copy reads 'दुर्मेधापरुष' Râmânujâryadivyacharita reads 'दुर्मेधास्वजन.'

[39] 'धामौघं' R. D.C.

[40] 'वैष्णवस्तु' MS.

[41] 'सत्तत्वं प' MS.

He summoned the Vaishaṇvas of his country and forced every one of them to write on a paper "शिवात्परतरं नास्ति (There is none higher than Śiva)" and present it to him before an assembly of all *pandits*.

चोलस्य श्रुतिकटु चेष्टितं यतीन्द्रः
श्रुत्वाथ[42] श्रितविमलाम्बरः स रङ्गात् ।
श्रीरङ्गिन्नव तव धाम दर्शनं चे-
त्युक्त्वा प्रास्थित विनिवेश्य कूरनाथम् ॥

When the great sage (Râmânuja) heard of the harsh behaviour of the Chôḷa king, he disguised himself in white attire and started from Śrîraṅgam, saying to the god "O Thou, Lord of Śrîraṅgam, protect thy shrine and religion," and left Kûrattâḷvân behind (*to look after Śrîraṅgam*).

निर्यातो यतिपतिरागते[43] प्रहर्तुं
चोलेन प्रहितबलं विलोक्य पश्चात् ।
धन्व[44] क्ष्मापथि सिकतावलीः किरद्भिः
स्वच्छात्रैर्ध्रुवमभिमन्त्रिता न्यरौत्सीत् ॥

On his way the great sage saw, while passing through a desert, a body of soldiers, sent by the Chôḷa king to obstruct (*him and his disciples*); he then ordered his disciples to throw charmed sands in the path of the army to stop it (*and pursued his way*).

मार्गेऽयं[45] प्रतिवसति प्रजास्ततस्त्या
रक्षित्वा विरचितभीरुशूद्रमोदम् ।
आलोकैर्निजचरितप्रदर्शनाच्च
श्रीनारायणपुरमाससद्विषण्णः ॥

At every halt in his way, though with a heavy heart, Râmânuja protected the natives of the country, pleasing even females and Śûdras by his sight and by showing his glory and at last reached Tirunârâyaṇapuram.

तत्सैन्यं यतिपतिमन्त्रितप्रकीर्णैः
संरुद्धं पथि सिकताभरैर्निवृत्तम् ।
आनैषीन्नृपसदनं[46] महार्हपूर्णं
श्रीरङ्गात्सह यतिवेषकूरभर्त्रा[47] ॥

Being obstructed by the charmed sands caused to be poured in the way by the great sage, the army turned and led Periyanambi (the teacher of Râmânuja) and Kûrattâḷvân, disguised as a *sanyâsin*, to the royal palace from Śrîraṅgam.

पत्रेऽस्मिन्परतरमस्ति नो शिवादि-
त्याधातुं लिपि[48] मधिगोष्ठि विद्वदग्रे ।
चोलेनानुमतपुरोधसेति पृष्टौ
तौ न्याय्यामिति वदतः स्म[49] वाचमुच्चैः ॥

On the advice of his preceptor, the Chôḷa king asked them to write "शिवात्परतरं नास्ति" on the paper in the presence of pandits assembled there, but they proclaimed the truth as follows:

अन्याय्यं तदिह हरिं विना वरीय-
स्तत्रेत्थं नृपतिनियोगदत्तपत्रे ।
मानार्थं शिवपदमाकलय्य तस्मा-
द्रोणं[50] चाप्यं धिकमिति स्फुटाक्षराणि (?) ॥

[42] 'श्रुत्वा यः' MS [43] 'रागतीं.' MS. [44] 'वन्य' Pr.
[45] 'मार्गे स' Pr. [46] 'सविधं' Pr. [47] 'पत्या' MS.
[48] 'धातुर्लिपि' MS. [49] 'स' Pr. [50] 'चास्त्य' Pr.

"There is no reason to suppose any other than Hari to be supreme." Having said this they took the word 'Śiva' to mean a measure, and wrote "द्रोणमस्ति ततः परम् (There is *drôṇa*, which is higher than that)" on the paper, which was put before them by the order of the king.

तादृक्षां लिपिमवलोक्य तं (तां) चतुर्थ-
मण्युक्तया कपटमतिं च तत्र मत्वा ।
क्रोधान्धः स नयनमन्धमस्य चक्रे
स्वं द्रष्टुर्भुवमघनिष्कृतिं विधास्यन् ॥

The king saw what was written and was informed of the deceit of Kûrattâḻvân by Nâlûrân. Then the enraged king got the eyes of Kûrattâḻvân plucked out, which seemed to be an atonement for Kûrattâḻvân's seeing such a bigoted Saiva king.

दासेनव्रजकृतनिष्ठुरप्रहारै-
र्वीतासुः सदसि महार्हपूर्णसूरिः[51] ।
कूरेशं तमपि नृपोऽक्षिपत्पुरात्स्वा -
दायुष्यद्रविणहराविव स्वकीये[52] ॥

Periyanambi died in the very assembly, being severely beaten by the king's attendants. And these two, Kûrattâḻvân and the body of Periyanambi, who proved to be the robbers of king's life and wealth, (*for the king lost those two soon after*) were expelled from the capital.

कूरेशः सह स परा[53]न्तकद्विजेन्द्रैः
संस्कृत्योचितविधिना महार्हपूर्णम् ।
श्रीरङ्गं प्रति गतवानुदन्तमेनं
प्राणैषीद्यतिपतये स्पशेन गुप्तम् ॥

Kûrattâḻvân performed the funeral of Periyanambi with (*the help of*) the Brahmins of the village Parântaka and then returned to Śrîraṅgam, whence he sent word to the great sage (Râmânuja) by a spy.

चारोक्तं श्रुतिभिदुरं निशम्य वृत्तं
शोकान्धो[54] यतितिलको रुषाऽर्घ्यकाले ।
दत्तार्घ्योऽधिकमभिवेङ्कटेन्दु चोल-
स्यारेभे प्रलयकृते वि (-हि) नाभिचारम् ॥

The glorious sage, who heard this horrible news from the spy, poured some water in libation to Vêṅkaṭêśvara, in addition to the usual libation to Savitṛi, at the time of libation (*i. e.*, Sandhyâ) and began a snake sacrifice for the destruction of the Chôḻa king.

त्यागेशः पुरजिदुपेन्द्रभक्तमुख्य-
श्चोलेशान्वयवसुधाधिपत्यमुद्राम् ।
अद्याहमिति कमलालये[55]ऽशरीरं
वाग्भेरीं मुखरयति स्म गोपुराग्रे ॥

[51] 'वीतासुं सदसि महार्हपूर्णसूरिम् ' Pr.

[52] 'यात ' Pr.

[53] 'मधुरा ' MS.

[54] 'शोकाधौ ' MS.

[55] Kamalâlaya is the Sanskrit name of Tiruvârur. See *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. II, p. 153, note 3. Now the name is restricted to the tank near the shrine of Śiva. 'कमठालये ' Pr.

Tyâgarâja, the Śiva god of Tiruvârûr, the pre-eminent devotee of Vishṇu, made an incorporal sound from the top of the Gôpura : "Now, I have closed the rule of the kings of the Chôḻa family."

श्रीरामानुजविबुधार्य्य[56] चोदितः स-
न्प्रह्लादोत्सुकनृहरिर्यथा हिरण्यम् ।
विध्याथ क्षितिपतिमायुधेन कण्ठे
निद्राणं निशि निशितेन वेङ्कटेशः ॥

The god Vêṅkaṭêśvara, being urged by the libation of the learned Râmânuja, stabbed the king with a weapon when he was asleep and thus resembled Narasimha who, out of love for Prahlâda, destroyed Hiraṇya (*—kaśipu*).

तद्धेतिप्रदलितकण्ठ[57] नालरन्ध्रा-
न्निःसीमौषधिमनुभेद[58]दुर्निवारात् ।
उत्तस्थौ[59]क्रिमिपटलं यतस्तदासी-
त्तस्याख्यं क्रिमिगलनाम पापलक्ष्म ॥

Numerous worms sprang from the hole of the wound which was made in the Chôḻa's neck by the weapon of Vêṅkaṭêśvara and which could not be cured by many drugs and charms. On that account he bore the name Krimikaṇṭha as a mark of his sins.

उद्भूतैर्विसृमरकेशदाहगन्धै-[60]
श्चोलेशं ज्वलितचिताग्निदग्धगात्रम् ।
स ज्ञात्वा फणिकृत[61]होमतो व्यरंसी-
त्तद्वधाहार[62]कपरिचारकागमार्थी ॥

From smells risen from the sacrificial fire, which were like to those of burning hair, Râmânuja knew that the Chôḻa's body was burnt in the blazing fire of a funeral pile. Then he finished the snake sacrifice and waited for a disciple who was to bring the news of the Chôḻa's death.

आयाताद्यतिपतिराकलय्य शिष्या-
च्चोलेशं वृषगिरिनाथहेतिविद्धम् ।
निष्ठ्यूतक्रिमिपटलाद्गलात्परासुं
प्रीतोदान्मनुमणि[63] पूर्णपात्रमस्मै ॥

The disciple came and related how the Lord of the mount Vṛisha (*i. e.*, Vêṅkaṭêśvara) wounded the Chôḻa king and how the Chôḻa king died of the growth of worms in his neck. The great sage pleased to hear these tidings, initiated him in the *Dvayamantra* as a Pûrṇapâtra.[64]

श्रीनारायणपुरिसंपदात्मजाख्यं
कल्याणाभिध[65] सरसीतटे[66] मुकुन्दम् ।
उत्पाद्याकृत सदशोत्तराद्विचत्वा-
रिंशत्किकरनिकराञ्चितं[67] यतीन्द्रः ॥

Afterwards Râmânuja made an image of Vishṇu called Śelvappiḻḻai, instituted it on the banks of the tank called Kalyâṇa at Tirunârâyaṇapuram and left fifty-two of his disciples to worship it there.

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56 'विबुधार्य' R. D. C.

57 'कर्ण' R. D. C.

58 'न्निर्विष्टौषधिपुनरुक्ति' R. D. C.

59 'उत्तस्थे' R. D. C.

60 'देहविस्र' Pr.

61 'फणिचिति' Pr.

62 'त्तत्त्वार्थान्तर' R. D. C.

63 '-दपदलक' MS. 'द्वयमनु' R. D. C.

64 *I. e.*, taking from friends at festivals by force clothes, etc.

65 '-णाह्वय' Pr. and R. D. C.

66 'तटी' MS.

67 'राञ्चितं' R. D. C.

If we identify the Chôḷa king of *Divyasûricharita* with Adhirâjêndradêva, we can easily reconstruct from this story the real history of Adhirâjêndra's death. In his *Ancient India*, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies the Chôḷa opponent of Râmânuja with Kulôttungachôḷa I, otherwise called Râjêndrachôḷa II.[68] But according to *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, the Tirunârâyaṇapura temple was built in the cyclic year Bahudhânya, Thursday, the 14th day of Makaramâsa with Pushya-nakshatra, but the Saka year corresponding to this is stated to have been subsequent to Saka 1012.[69] Hence it must have been either Saka 1020 or A. D. 1098. 1098 was the 28th regnal year of Kulôttungachôḷa I, *alias* Râjêndrachôḷa II. *Divyasûricharita* states that the temple of Tirunârâyaṇapuram or Mêlkôṭa was built after the death of Krimikaṇṭha. If we identify Krimikaṇṭha with Kulôttunga the temple must have been built after 1119, the latest known date of Kulôttunga I.[70] The year Bahudhânya subsequent to A. D. 1119 is 1158. But Râmânuja, the founder of Tirunârâyaṇapuram temple, died in Saka 1059 or A. D. 1137.[71] Therefore Kulôttunga cannot be Krimikaṇṭha. If Krimikaṇṭha or the Chôḷa king of *Divyasûricharita* is identical with Adhirâjêndra there is no difficulty. Moreover the expressions *tadvaṁśakshayakaraṇâya* and *Chôlêśânvayavasudhâdhipatyamudrâm / adyâdâm* in *Divyasûricharita* clearly state that a family ended with the royal opponent of Râmânuja. Kulôttunga I is the founder of the new Châlukya-Chôḷa dynasty whose descendants ruled the Tamil country for more than five generations.[72] This fact supports the identification of Krimikaṇṭha with Adhirâjêndrachôḷadêva with whom the original Chôḷa family ended.

In *Mysore Archæological Survey Report* for 1907-8, the account of Râmânuja's visit to Tirunârâyaṇapuram is stated to have been due to wrongly identifying Yâdavapura (Tonnur) with Tirunârâyaṇapura, which is Yâdavagiri; the date of erection of Tirunârâyaṇapuram temple was interpreted to be that of Râmânuja's visit to Toṇḍanûr or Tonnur, where Râmânuja met Vishṇuvardhana, or Viṭṭhala, and, according to *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, converted him.[73] It is further written in the *Report* : "Either there must be some mistake about the date or we must suppose that Vishṇuvardhana had also taken up his residence at Tonnur when his brother Ballâla I was on the throne" for "the year Bahudhânya, corresponding to A. D. 1099, does not fall within the reign of Vishṇuvardhana."[74] But *Divyasûricharita* clearly states that Râmânuja visited Srînârâyaṇapura or Tirunârâyaṇapura and built the temple of Selvappiḷḷai or Sampadâtmaja. No mention is made of Vishṇuvardhana's conversion in Toṇḍanûr in this work which, being contemporary evidence,[75] is more authoritative than *Guruparamparâprabhâva* and *Râmânujâryadivyacharita*. The two latter works often quote from *Divyasûricharita*. We cannot take, therefore, Vishṇuvardhana's conversion by Râmânuja at Tonnur as a fact; but if his conversion is a fact, we shall have, then, to identify the former with a Viṭṭhala who was ruling the district of Tirupati many years before Râmânuja's visit to Tirunârâyaṇapuram, and who was seemingly converted by Râmânuja during his visit to Tirupati. The following verse of *Divyasûricharita* may be quoted in this connection :—

प्राप्य श्रीपुरमुरंगेन्द्रशैलमूला-
लंकारं परनतविठ्ठलेन्द्रभूपात् ।
लब्ध्वासावकरमतिष्ठिपच्च तत्र
प्रख्यातांस्त्रिगुणशतं स्वशिष्यमुख्यान् ॥ *D. S. C.* XVIII, 22.

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68 *Ancient India*, p. 150.

69 See *Guruparamparâprabhâva* (Śrîe-Vaishṇava-Grantha-Mudrâpaka-Sabhâ edition), p. 343.

70 *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III., p. 131.

71 'धर्मो नष्टः' *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, p. 438.

72 See pedigree of the Chôlas in *Ancient India*.

73 *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, p. 340.

74 *Mysore A. S. Report* for 1907-8, pp. 9 and 10.

75 See *Divyasûricharita*, canto XVII, v. 87.

"Having reached Tirupati, the ornament of the foot of the hill named after the lord of the serpents (*i. e.*, Śêsha-śaila or the Tirupati hill) he (Râmânuja) got an *agrahâra* from the king Viṭṭhala, who worshipped his feet, and established three hundred of his famous and principal disciples in it.''

This might have happened during the time of Vishṇuvardhana's father Ereyanga (about A.D. 1062), who is said to have made conquests in the north.[76] The current form of the story of Râmânuja's visit to south-western India (which is elaborately described in *Guruparamparâprabhâva*) seems to be the invention of a later person, most probably of the author of the *Yâdavagrimâhâtmya*. Therefore about A. D. 1074 Râmânuja visited Tirunârâyaṇapuram and not Toṇḍanûr, and this was owing to the hostility of Adhirâjêndra and not Kulôttunga I.

Now, the reason why Adhirâjêndra destroyed Chidambaram temple must be explained. In that village, the Vishṇu temple caused some kind of obstruction to the Tiruvîdhi festivals of Śiva. Moreover only the Vishṇu temple had a *mukhamaṇḍapa* and there was no room for building another *maṇḍapa* for the Śiva temple. This gave a greater importance to the Vishṇu temple which was disliked by the orthodox Śaivas. Even now this difficulty exists and the Śaivas are trying to remove the Vishṇu temple from the premises of the Śiva temple. It seems Adhirâjêndra had this in view in destroying the Vishṇu shrine of Chidambaram. Not being able to go against the Śaivas by reconstructing the Vishṇu shrine at the same place, Râmânuja instituted the images at Tirupati as stated in *Divyasûricharita* and other works. But the intended extension of the Chidambaram Śiva temple did not take place at that time owing to the untimely death of Adhirâjêndradêva. Kulôttunga II, the grandson of Kulôttuṅga I, who ruled from about A. D. 1126 to A. D. 1146,[77] had fulfilled the desire of Adhirâjêndradêva by constructing a *maṇḍapa* in the front of the temple. It is this fact that is mentioned in Oṭṭakûttan's *Kulôttuṅgachôḻanulâ* and *Takkayâgapparaṇi*. Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar ascribes the destruction of the Chidambaram temple of Vishṇu to Kulôttunga II.[78] Besides *Divyasûricharita* and *Râmânujâryadivyacharita* the following verse quoted by the learned Aiyangar from *Prapannâmṛita* states that it was Krimikaṇṭha that destroyed the Gôvindarâja shrine at Chitrakûṭam.

खिलीकृतं चित्रकूटं क्रिमिकण्ठेन यत्पुरा ।
तत्प्रतिष्ठापितुं सम्यक्तदा मेने महागुरुः ॥

I translate this verse in the words of Mr. Aiyangar. "He (Mahâchârya) wished to restore the temple of Gôvindarâja at Chidambaram (Chitrakûṭa), which had been uprooted by the Chôḻa Krimikaṇṭha."[79] It is impossible to identify Krimikaṇṭha with Kulôttunga II, for he survived Râmânuja by nine years; and the statement that Râmânuja returned to Śrîraṅgam after the death of Krimikaṇṭha is erroneous on this view.

Now, to return to our subject. I hope I have proved that the story narrated in *Divyasûricharita* shows Adhirâjêndra's death to be due to the dislike of his subjects. In this way we can clearly explain the 27th, 28th and 29th verses of canto X of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*[80] and the expression '*prakṛitivirôdhahatasya* (of Chôḻa's son who was killed owing to his enmity with the subjects)' in *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*.[81] The word '*Chôlasûnôh*' is used to denote that Ahirâjêndra died too young to have any children to rule after him. It cannot be called usurpation, therefore, if Kulôttunga I, *alias* Râjêndra II, a grandson of the Chôḻa family, ascended the Chôḻa throne after Adhirâjêndradêva.

[76] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, "Inscriptions of Mysore District," 14.

[77] *Ancient India*, p. 153.

[78] *Ibid.* pp. 153, 210, 220, 316, 320 and 323.

[79] *Ibid*, p. 320.

[80] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 332.

[81] *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, VI, 26.

After the death of Adhirâjêndra, Vikramâditya VI as well as Râjêndrachôḷa II apparently wanted to occupy the vacant throne of the Chôḷas, but the latter quickly fulfilled his object. The other being disappointed wanted to fight with Râjêndrachôḷa II, but the latter withstood him, finding an ally in Sômêśvara II, elder brother of Vikramâditya VI and the then reigning king of the Western Châlukyas (A. D. 1069 to 1075). A battle was fought between the contending parties, but Râjêndrachôḷa II could not be dethroned though, as a result of the battle, Sômêśvara II was overthrown by Vikramâditya VI.[82] The latter ascended the Kuntala throne in A. D. 1076 whence started the Châlukya Vikramavarsha era.[83] Inscriptions of the fifth year of Râjêndrachôḷa II's reign refer to this battle, stating "(*He*) unsheathed (*his*) sword, showed the strength of (*his*) arm, and spurred (*his*) war steed, so that the king of Kondala (Kuntala), (*whose spear had*) a sharp point lost his wealth. Having established (*his*) fame, having put on the garland of (*the victory over*) the Northern region, and having stopped the prostitution of the goddess with the sweet and excellent lotus-flower (*i. e.*, Lakshmî) of the Southern region, and the loneliness of the goddess of the good country whose garment is Ponni (Kânêrî) he put on by right (*of inheritance*) the pure royal crown of jewels, while the kings of old earth bore his two feet (*on their heads*) as a large crown."[84]

I have already stated that after his coronation as the ruler of the Chôḷa country he bore the title Kulôttunga, which means "highest in his family," and which is found only in his inscriptions subsequent to the fourth regnal year. This implies that the independent rule of the united empire of Vêṅgi and the Chôḷa country was attained by him alone and not by his predecessors, and not before 1074-75, even by him. This title cannot mean that he was called a Chôḷa after attaining supreme power, for he was already styled a member of the Chôḷa family in A. D. 1071-72, as stated by Prof. Hultzsch.[85] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* says "As a young prince of the Lunar race, as an infant lord of the Solar race, he grew up the joy of the kings of both races, like the fruit of the virtuous deeds of his ancestors."[86] *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* styles our prince Râjêndrachôḷa II as 'Chôla Râjiga' in one place (VI. 38) and 'Râjiga Vêṅginâtha' in another place (VI. 26). He was Ubhayakulôttama[87] (the best of the two races), therefore, even before he was crowned as ruler of the eastern country.

According to Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Adhirâjêndra ascended the throne in A. D. 1070 and ruled only part of a year, for Râjêndrachôḷa II also ascended the Chôḷa throne in the same year; the capture of elephants at Vairâgarvam and the capture of the fortress of Chakrakôṭṭam mentioned in his inscriptions as deeds of his heir-apparentship imply that he distinguished himself in the expedition sent out by Vîrarâjendra in A. D. 1067; Kulôttunga's having uplifted the lotus goddess in the direction of the rising of the sun would only mean that Râjêndra Kulôttunga distinguished himself as a prince in the eastern exploits of his grandfather, either during Râjêndra Chôḷa's, or under Vîrarâjêndra when he re-conquered Kaḍâram.[88] In my opinion the above statements are not well founded. If the above-quoted inscriptions of Râjarâjachôḍagaṅga[89] and Vîrachôḍa[90] are taken into consideration we must conclude that the coronation of Râjêndrachôḷa II with the title Kulôttunga as a ruler of the Chôḷa country took place some time after his coronation as ruler of the eastern or Vêṅgi territory. The earlier Tamil inscriptions styling him Râjêndrachôḷa refer to his coronation as ruler of the eastern country; for they describe his crown as '*Kula-*

[82] *Ibid.* VI., 27 to 90.

[83] Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of Dekhan*, 2nd edition, pp. 85 ff.

[84] *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III. p. 142.

[85] *Ibid.* p. 132.

[86] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 332.

[87] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* I. 2.

[88] *Ancient India*, pp. 49, 50, 128, 130, 131 and 233.

[89] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, pp. 334 to 347.

[90] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pp. 423 to 436.

maṇimakuṭam (the jewelled crown of his family),' while the latter inscriptions styling him Kulôttungachôḷa describe his crown as '*punitarutirumaṇimakuṭam* (the pure royal crown of jewels),' and hence must imply another coronation. This confirms the statement that Râjêndrachôḷa II, afterwards Kulottunga I, was crowned twice, first in A. D. 1070 as ruler of his paternal dominions of Vêṅgi and secondly in A. D. 1074 as emperor of the Chôḷa country. I have already stated that Râjêndrachôḷa II was not only in possession of Vêṅgi but of a portion of the Tamil country also. I, therefore, take the words "*(He)* gently raised, without wearying (*her*) in the least, the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun," to mean the Vêṅgi country and a part of the Chôḷa country. If this were the description of his conquest of Kaḍâram, I see no reason why it should not be mentioned in even one of his later inscriptions together with the conquest of Chakrakôṭṭam and Vayirâgaram. The conquest in the battle of Chakrakôṭṭam and the capture of elephants at Vayirâgaram are said to have taken place when he was still *Iḷaṅgô* or *Yuvarâja*, only in the inscriptions of the fifth and following years of Kulôttungachôḷa I's reign[91] and Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.[92] The latter work mentions his capture of elephants without referring to Vayirâgaram. If the said battles were fought before his coronation in A. D. 1070 these ought to have been stated as deeds during his Iḷaṅgôpparuvam or heir-apparentship even in the inscriptions of his second, third and fourth years. It seems, therefore, that after attaining supreme power in A. D. 1075 his rule over the eastern country as a feudatory to the Chôḷas was treated by him as his period of heir-apparentship to the Chôḷa throne.

Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India* has the following account of Kulôttunga I's reign: "Kulottuṅga, otherwise called Râjêndrachôḷa II, the son of the daughter of Râjêndra I, Gangaikoṇḍa, ruled for forty-nine years, from 1070 to 1118. There is some obscurity concerning the manner in which he attained supreme power. . . . . The celebrated philosopher Râmânuja, the most venerated teacher of the Vaishṇava Hindus in the South, received his education at Kâñchî and resided at Śrîrangam near Trichinopoly during the reign of Kulottuṅga : but owing to the hostility of the king, who professed the Śaiva faith, was obliged to retire into Mysore territory until Kulottuṅga's death freed him from his anxiety."[93] In the light of my previous remarks this has to be revised. Kulôttunga, the grandson of the Chôḷa king Râjêndra I, ascended the Chôḷa throne by right and not by usurpation, and there is no obscurity concerning the manner in which he attained kingly power as Mr. V. A. Smith thinks.

BRAHMAN IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN, C.E., M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., M.M.S ; MYSORE.

THE word 'immigration' has here been purposely used by me; for until comparatively recently no settlements on a large scale were made in the south by the northern Âryans, as a result of pre-meditated and well-concerted action on the part of a whole class or tribe, directed by the efforts of the king. The Âryan tribes seemed to have at first pressed forward from north-west to south-east, urged by natural causes over which they had no control and against which they could make no stand until they reached the plains of Hindustan where they seemed to have found a peaceful settlement for a long period of time. But soon the impulse to go farther came upon them, due to various causes, and as there was no longer any ground on the south-eastern side they seemed to have bent their steps westward and southward, overrunning Central India and Southern India. The militant polity adapted to constant warfare and constant pressing forward until the extreme south-east limit of their line of march into India from the north-west was reached, is well reflected in the hymns of the *Ṛig-Veda*. The peaceful establishment and consolidation of states in

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91 *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 142.
92 *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, X, 23 and 24.
93 *Early History of India*, 2nd edition, p. 422.

Central India is described in the works of the *Sûtra* period. The next onward march, impelled by other than mere natural forces, is described in the epics of the Âryan land ; the *Râmâyaṇa*, describing the earliest movement, and the *Mahâbhârata*, the ambitious conquering march of the Âryan kings of the north. By the term 'Southern India,' I understand what is commonly known as the Deccan, which we may take as signifying the whole land to the south of the Vindhya Mountains known as Pâriyâtra in olden times, *i.e.*, the limits of travelling. These mountains first formed an effective barrier on the forward pushing Âryans ; and by the wild animals that infested their intractable wilderness and by the wilder aboriginal tribes peopling their slopes, the progress of the northerner towards the south seems to have been checked for a long time. So much was the loss of life and property that they had suffered at the hands of the agencies that were at work to the south of their settlements in Âryâvarta, that they ever after came to identify the south with death and called it *Yâmyâ dik* or *Yama-dik*, or that which points to the abode of death. We also see that their favourite line of march leading to the point where they met with the least resistance they called *Âgneya*, from *Agni*, whom they took for their lead. They called *Agni*, *purohita ;* referring by this symbol either to the use of fire in clearing forests that were ahead of their advance, or to the warmth, the quest of which must have determined their line of pressure. The latter seems to me to be the true symbol, considering how they must have been pressing forward in the glacial epoch from the Arctic regions where must have been their primitive home, only under the sure lead of the quest of warmth. In the shape of high floods and storms, destruction must have then come to them from the south-west, which direction they therefore called *Nairṛtya*, from *Nirṛiti*, *i.e.*, destruction. These lines of pursuit and avoidance seem to have been symbolised in the *tantra* that is used in sacrifices : वायव्याराग्नेयान्तं', नैऋत्यादीशा नान्तं. Agreeably to this surmise we find that in the *Śântivachana* शान्तिरस्तु; तुष्टिरस्तु etc., that is made in the purificatory ceremony, the liturgical formula includes ऐशान्यामरिष्टनिरसनमस्तु । आग्नेय्यां यत्पापं तत्प्रतिहतमस्तु. This indicates that their advance was towards the south-east ; because the prayer is addressed for the removal of the evil at the south-east point : and all trouble or misfortune is sought to be thrown into the north-east.[1]

Before the settlement of the Âryans in India was effected, the low-lying plains of the great rivers had been inhabited by the Dravidian race, and the first conflict of the Âryas and the Draviḍas appears to have taken place in the extreme west and north of India.

That the Dravidians had planted their settlements so far up in the north and west is borne out by the fact that several Dravidian dialects, such as Brâhui, Villî, and Santâl, are found stranded in the midst of other tongues in Baluchistan, Râjputânâ and Central India. But as the centre of gravity of the Dravidian peoples, as determined by the density of their population, lies somewhere about Mysore, we must take the south of India as the home of those peoples whence they might have spread to the north. There is evidence for this in the literature of the Tamiḻs. It is said that long ago the land had stretched farther south from Cape Comorin and all that region had belonged to the Pândiyan king. But at one time the sea gained over it, submerging many mountains and rivers, of which *பஃறுளி* was one :

அடியிற் றள்ளள வரசர்க் குணர்த்தி
வடிவே லெறித்தவான் பகைபொறாது
பஃறுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்து
க்குமரிக் கோடுங் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள
வடதிசைக் கங்கையுமி மயமுள்கொண்டு
தென்றிசை யாண்ட தென்னவன் வாழி.

சிலப்பதிகாரம்—காடுகாண் காதை (17-22).

[1] The countries to the north-east of their settlements they called *aparâjita*, *i.e.*, unconquered or unsubdued.

It is said that during the time of Nilantaru Tiruvil Pâṇḍyan, the submergence of the land took place and Ugra-Pâṇḍya, his successor, vowed that he would make amends for it by annexing the land to the north as far as the Ganges and the Himalayas. Perhaps it was in consequence of this resolve, he led his expedition into the north and there encountered the Âryans, who had then been pouring into India through the passes of the Himalayas.

In their first conflicts the Âryans seem to have called these *Dasyus* and *Paṇi s*, as evidenced by the *Ṛig-Veda*. *Dasyu* (thief) was very likely the name given to one section of this Dravidian race known as the Chôḷas or Chôḷis, from which the Coromandal coast derives its name (சோழ மண்டலம்). *Chôḷa* is the Tamil word சோழி, a softened form perhaps of கோழி. That the country itself was once called கோழி is evidenced by the fact that the original name of the Chôḷs capital, Uraiyur, was கோழி, from which also was derived கோழிக்கோடு Calicut of our English geography) perhaps a west coast settlement from the Chôḷa land, when, in the 11th century. that kingdom gained its lost power, and led by Râjarâja, Ko-para-kesari, and others, extended its dominions on all sides. The name கோழி itself was perhaps given to the land by the people from the shelly nature of its beach, deriving it from கொழித்தல் *i.e.*, to have a shore in gentle waves. But the Âryans must have mispronounced Chôḷa as '*chôra*,' and misunderstood it as meaning *thief*, perhaps led into that misunderstanding by the raiding propensities of those peoples ; and consequently re-named them *Dasyu* in unambiguous Saṃskṛit. As for the word *Paṇis* its nothing but the Dravidian name பணிp reserved in words like பாணியன், பணிக்கன், which means *toddy :* பணியன் or *paṇis* means a native of the toddy country or the toddy-bibber. பாண்டிய might have been a later adaptation of that word after closer contact with the Âryans of the north. Thus we see that even during the Ṛig-Vedic times the Âryans and the Dravidians must have come in contact with each other; it was, however, chiefly with the *Dasyus* that the Âryans had to fight and the *Ṛig-Veda* speaks of many hundreds of *Dasyus* sent to sleep by Indra and many forts (99) belonging to them destroyed by the advancing Âryans. It was the *Dasyus* or the *Chôras* or the Chôḷas that formed the more advanced northern wing of the Dravidian race settled along the east coast and penetrating even into the plains of Hindustan through the low-lying lands of the Gangetic delta. Masulipatam, known as *Masoli* to Ptolemy, Strabo and other classical geographers, bears clear testimony to the northward expansion of the Chôḷas in early times. Hiouen Thsang, writing so late as in the 7th century A. D., places the Chôḷas to the north of the Draviḍas, the latter having Kâñchî for their capital; perhaps he refers by this term to the Pallava power in the ascendant in Kâñchî in those times; while the Choḷa country itself is described by him as deserted and wild. Perhaps the modern Ândhras, who inhabit the Northern Circars and a good portion of the ceded districts and the Nizam's dominions as far up as the Central Indian States, might have been the product of the intermingling of the advance Dravidian wing in the Chôḷas and the Kolarians, whereof the Oddhras seem to be an offshoot. From the numerical superiority of the Oddhras, the name Ândra, which can be easily equated to Ândhra, might have been given to this mixture of the races. In those days the differentiation of Telugu and Tamiḻ does not seem to have taken place. And the Chôḷas must have spoken a tongue which was the parent of modern Telugu and more akin to Tamiḻ. It was, in fact, the Tamiḻ of the **first Sangham** of the Tamiḻ land. The name *Draviḍa*, given in common to all the languages of the south, shows that at the time when that name was given, Tamiḻ must have been the common tongue. For Draviḍa is nothing but an Âryanised form of Tamiḻ, the local name for the language meaning *nice* or *sweet*—the linguistic equation being தமிழ் = தமிள் = *damila* = *damida* = *dramida* = *draviḍa*, from which Draviḍa was derived. As a consequence of these early contests and the resulting intermixture of the two races, the Âryans very early became

united with the Dravidas in the larger sense and seem to have adopted also some of their *culture* into their religion. Agastya, a Ṛig-Vedic sage, is said to have introduced the worship of Marut along with that of Indra. Now Marut, son of Rudra, was also a god of the Dravidians known as **Marudai**, afterwards included in the Puranic pantheon as *Subramanya*, son of Śiva, who was identified with the Vedic Rudra. The country of the *Paṅiyas* was *Marudai*, (an agricultural soil) called so after their god, and it perhaps became Âryanised into *Madhurai* when closer contact was effected in subsequent times. With the closer mingling of the two races after the first contests had subsided, many of the customs belonging to the Dravidians were apparently borrowed by the Âryans. For the immigrant Âryans seem to have soon learnt the great ethnic law that an emigrant from northern latitudes had no chance against the most vigorous tropical races unless the stock was maintained by constant streams of emigrants from the parent-land. But as this could not be done, they seem to have chosen the next best alternative—of strengthening the Dravidian soil with the Âryan seed, and devised proper marriage laws by which this was systematically effected. Thus a Brâhmaṇa was allowed to marry from all the four castes—in the language of the later code; all the children of such a union were considered as Brâhmaṇas according to the rule in vogue in those early days, formulated in a *Brâhmaṇa* as *utpâdayituḥ putraḥ* : the son belongs to him who sows the seed, *i.e.*, the son belongs to the same *varṇa* or race, *i.e.*, caste, in the latter sense of the word, as the father. In this manner an intermingling seems to have taken place between the Âryans and the non-Âryans, so much so that the Ârya became, in the words of an English historian, "absorbed in the Desya as the Lombard in the Italian, the Frank in the Gaul, the Roman (of Roumania) in the Slav, etc." This conclusion rests on the evidence of anthropometry, which establishes the substantial unity of the present-day Hindu race, especially in the North.

As a consequence of this early intermingling, the Âryan had to give up his ancient language as the language of common life and adapt the languages of the races with whom he mingled. Thus the children speaking the mothers' tongues originated the various Prâkṛit dialects which had thus sprung into existence even before the time of Buddha in the 6th century B. C. When all Hindustan had become Âryanised, Baudhâyana, who seems to have lived in Kaḷiṅga, belongs to the 7th century B. C. Even in his days the north and the south had differentiated themselves, in point of manners, customs, etc. It is only in this way that we can account for the remarkable fact that the Brâhmaṇas, living in the various parts of the country, though priding themselves on having descended from the same identical *Rishis*, though following many common customs, still speak diverse tongues. The mother's tongue and the father's religion seem to have become the law of the land. This surmise gains in strength if we remember that emigration or change of habitat does not of itself create a change in the spoken language of a people or a tribe or a family: for instance, a Maharatta, a Karnataka or a Telugu family or tribe settled in Tamiḻ or Kannada lands is, even now, after the lapse of several centuries, found to cling to its mother tongue. Therefore to explain the origin of Telugu, Kannada or Tamiḻ Brâhmaṇas we must accept this rule and infer that the earliest settlements of Brâhmaṇas must have been made in the Ṛig-Vedic times when it was not unlawful to take native women as wives, and the children born to them were readily accepted as equal in rank to the fathers. These Âryanised Draviḍas must have lived chiefly in Kaḷiṅga, near modern Orissa, etc., *i. e.*, in the Telugu land, long before the 7th century B. C., as evidenced by the fact that great *sûtrakâras* like Baudhâyana and Âpastamba hail from that region. But farther south the Âryans do not seem to have largely spread in those days. For Baudhâyana says: अवन्तयोऽङ्गमगधाः सुराष्ट्रा दक्षिणापथा ऽपवृत्तसिन्धुसौवीरा एते संकीर्णयोनयः ॥

From this we learn that those countries were lying on the out-skirts of Âryan settlements, and we may also infer from the manner of the expression that the Brâhmaṇas themselves used to go into them for various reasons, though not settled in them in large numbers. Pâṇini's acquaintance with

the geography of southern India seems to be very meagre; for he makes no mention of Paṇḍya, Choḷa, etc., which names however are added by Kâtyâyana in his *Vârtikas* and are distinctly described by Patañjali. Aśoka's edicts, the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Râmâyaṇa* all show their full acquaintance with the south. Hence we have to conclude that the complete Âryanisation of the south must have taken place after the 6th and before the 3rd century B. C. In fact those were the times when Buddhism had grown into a powerful prosyletising religion, sending missionaries to all parts of the world. Certainly south India must have very early enough become subject to the influence of the new religion. Jainism, which there is reason to believe was even anterior to Buddhism, seems to have first made the southward march and brought down more Âryans of the north into the Carnatic and Tamiḻ lands, having been pressed out of its home by the spread of the Buddhist sect. For we find from the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscriptions that Bhadrabâhu, who was the reputed spiritual *guru* of Chandragupta, came and settled here in 297 B. C. Perhaps some of the Brâhmaṇas also who were disturbed in their old homes in the north pressed towards the south and settled in various places all along their route in those days. For we find that Tamiḻ works which are known to belong to the 1st century A. D. at the latest and which may be referred to the 1st century B. C., speak distinctly of Brâhmaṇas and Brâhmaṇa institutions of sacrifice, and even refer to the heroes of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus in *Tirumurugappaḍai*, one of the ten idylls, we find the terms அந்தணர் and வேள்வி meaning '*brâhmaṇa*' and 'sacrifice,' which distinctly refer to the presence of Brâhmaṇas in the district of Madura (the native place of the author of the work மதுரைக்கணக் காயனார் மகனார் நக்கீரனார்) and their uninterrupted performance of sacrifices. In another place he refers to them as இருபிறப்பாளர், a Tamiḻ translation of the word *dvija* (द्विज:). In another work சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை, clear reference is made to Bhîma, brother of Arjuna, who burnt the forest of Khâṇḍavana. *Sillappadhikâram*, which from clear internal evidence of the poem, belongs to the 1st century B. C., has அருந்திறப் பிறிந்த வயோத்தி போல 'like Ayodhyâ bereft of the great Râma.'

It appears there occurred twelve years' famine in Hindustan in the 3rd century B. C., and a large number of people emigrated from the north in consequence of it. It is said that Bhadrabâhu foretold the occurrence of the famine and led out the emigrants from Ujjain. This tradition is attested by the Jaina inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Perhaps he brought with him numerous Brâhmaṇa families also. There is nothing unreasonable in such a supposition, because in those days there seems to have been very little difference between the Jains and the Hindus in point of belief or ritual. Only the *Jina-dîkshâ* of the ascetics was a distinguishing feature of the religion at all repugnant to the Hindus. For even so late as A. D. 1368, in the time of Vîra-Bukka-râja, the king is said to have brought about a union between the Jainas and the Śrîvaishṇavas by making the leader of the latter faith living in Kâñchî (Koil), Srîraṅgam, and Tirunârâyaṇapuram (Melkote) sign a document stating that the Jainas must not be looked upon as in a single respect different from them in point of doctrine or ritual. If such could be said of two extreme forms of Hindu religion at such a late period as A. D. 1368, we may understand how many Brâhmaṇas in the 3rd century B. C. could have easily called Bhadrabâhu their *guru*. Evidence for such a large immigration is found from an unexpected quarter. Among the Draviḍa (Tamiḻ) Brâhmaṇas we have a section of people called बृहचरण, the Great Immigration, who themselves are subdivided into Mazhanadu (மழநாடு) and Molagu, probably from the names of the provinces where they made their first settlements. *Bṛihat* and *Charanam* mean the great migration, and must refer to a large southward movement caused by some such disaster as famine. மழநாடு=மலநாடு is the archaic form of மலைநாடு; perhaps மொளகு is the same as the Telugu *Muriki nâḍu*. The Mazhanâḍu section is itself subdivided into *Kandra-mâṇikkam*, *Mangudi* and *Sathiamangalam*, etc., all villages along the Western Ghats; for, following the examples of all colonists in tropical lands, they must have

naturally clung to the highlands and peopled the skirts of the present province of Mysore, the districts of Malabar, Coimbatore and Madura, and spread out towards the west coast as far as *Magadi*, which Mr. Venkayya identifies with *Vêṅgi*, the Chera capital, and considers it as lying near the modern Cranganore in Malabar. One section of them were called அஷ்ட ஸஹஸ்ரம் (अष्टसहस्र) from the *8000 land* which they occupied—being perhaps the same as the Ashtagram division of Mysore. Another section, the *Molagu*, I am unable to identify : they may be the settlers in the dry districts of Bellary and Anantapur. At the time when these settlements were made, Kannada does not seem to have distinguished itself from Telugu or Tamiḻ. Throughout the period of time when the Kongu kings ruled, the language seems to have been Tamiḻ and the literature of the period belongs to the *Chera* kingdom with the capital at Vêṅgi, *i.e.*, Cranganore, on the west coast. It was only during the rule of the Châlukyas and the Yâdavas of Devagiri that Kannada became a separate tongue by differentiation from Telugu on the one hand and Tamiḻ on the other.

Moreover, of this twelve years' famine, which seems to have led to the great southward movement from the north, we have evidence of a peculiar kind, in one of the stories of the *Pancha-Tantra.* The whole story seems to be a satire on the leadership of the Jaina *guru* Bhadrabâhu, who led the colonists southward only to expose them to sufferings of various kinds, among which may be included starvation and death, voluntarily sought by some in the orthodox Jaina fashion which is technically called सल्लेख. For we read in the Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscriptions how troops of his followers exposed themselves to slow death by starvation on the bare hill in that place. It is exactly like the crane decoying the fish away in the story only to expose them on a bare rock. There seems to have occurred many such prolonged droughts in the past, during one of which the sage Viśvâmitra and his family are represented as helped to bits of beef by Triśaṅku, who had become a Chaṇḍâla by reason of his sins. The *Chhândogyopanishad* also makes mention of a famine caused by drought in the land of the Kurus. But these famines do not seem to have led to any great emigration to the south.

But from all these we must not conclude that prior to this period there were no Brâhmaṇas at all in the south. Tamiḻ literature of the 3rd Sangham period, which we must take as referring to the period between the 1st century B. C. and 1st century A. D. (because Gajâbahu of Ceylon, who is represented as a contemporary of the author of one of the classics of that period, *viz.*, *Silappadhikârm*, is known from the *Mahâvaṁsa* to have ruled towards the end of the 2nd century B. C.), bears ample traces of Saṃskṛit influence upon itself and upon its language. Nay, Tamiḻ tradition makes Agastya, one of the Âryan sages, the founder of its language and literature, meaning thereby that he was the first to systematise the language. There is a tradition among the Âryans that this Agastya crossed the Vindhyas and went to the south, and there is also an answering tradition among the Tamiḻs that he did come among them and became the father of their literature.

(*To be continued.*)

DANDIN, THE NYASAKARA, AND BHAMAHA.

BY PROF. K. B. PATHAK, B.A.; POONA.

MR. Kane has contributed a paper on Nyâsakâra, Vâmana and Mâgha to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1909, p. 94. In this paper he says: "The *Harshacharita* clearly alludes to the Nyâsa in the expression कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः as the commentator Saṅkara, who appears to be an early writer, explains कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः as कृत अभ्यस्तो गुरुपदे दुर्बोधशब्दे न्यासो वृत्तिविवरण यैः *Srîharshacharita*, chap. III, p. 96, Nirṇaya, 1st Edition." On looking into the Nirṇayasâgara Edition of this work I find the reading to be not वृत्तिविवरणं but वृत्तिविंवरणं. Dr. Führer's most valuable and critical edition of the *Harshacharita*, based on many manuscripts, also reads, on p. 133, न्यासो वृत्तिविंवरणं यैः It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Kane

has changed this reading into वृत्तिविवरणं by omitting the *reph* on वि°. His opinion about the date of the *Nyâsakâra* being unsettled is, on this account, not entitled to consideration. But the word न्यास is frequently used in the sense of a grammatical treatise or commentary. It occurs in the following verse in this sense :

न्यासं जैनेन्द्रसंज्ञं सकलबुधनुतं पाणिनीयस्य भूयो-
न्यासं शब्दावतारं मनुजततिहितं वैद्यशास्त्रं च कृत्वा ।
यस्तत्त्वार्थस्य टीकां व्यरचयदिह तां भात्यसौ पूज्यपाद-
स्वामी भूपालवन्द्यः स्वपरहितवचः पूर्ण्णदृग्बोधवृत्तः ॥

Epigr. Carn., Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 268.

Mr. Narasimhachara[1] quotes from this verse the words पाणिनीयस्य भूयोन्यासं शब्दावतारं and would have us believe that the second word न्यास in this verse is the name of Pûjyapâda's commentary on Pâṇini. This view is amply refuted by the Hebbûr plates, which describe king Durvinîta :

शब्दावतारकार-देव-भारतीनिव[ब]द्ध-बृहत्पथः

Epigr. Carn., Vol. XII, p. 17.

"He who was restricted to the path of eminence by the words of Deva [Devanandin] the author of the *Śabdâvatâra.*"

In my paper[2] on "Pûjyapâda and the authorship of the *Jainendra-Vyâkaraṇa*" I have shown that Pûjyapâda wrote the *Jainendra-Vyâkaraṇa* and that his other name was Devanandin. I have also given Vṛittaviḷâsa's verse saying that Pûjyapâda also wrote a commentary on Pâṇini. But Vṛittaviḷâsa does not give the name of this commentary. In the passage quoted from the Hebbûr plates, the word 'Deva' stands for 'Devanandin.' Jinasena speaks of the author of the *Jainendra-Vyâkaraṇa* as Deva :

कवीनां तीर्थकृद्देवः किंतरां तत्र वर्ण्यते ।
विदुषां वाङ्मलध्वंसि तीर्थं यस्य वचोमयं ॥

Âdipurâṇa, chap. I, 52.

It is thus clear that Pûjyapâda is spoken of in the Hebbûr plates as शब्दावतारकार and not as न्यासकार. It follows, therefore, that in the other Mysore inscription quoted above, the words पाणिनीयस्य न्यासं शब्दावतारं कृत्वा mean "having composed a commentary called शब्दावतार on Pâṇini's work." It may be stated here that Pûjyapâda is never spoken of as *Nyâsakâra* in Jaina or Brâhmanical literature. Vardhamâna refers to him thus :

सामुद्रस्थलकः । अयंदि ग्वस्त्रमतेन·

Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, Benares Ed., p. 196.

The terms न्यासकृत् and जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि are reserved for the Buddhist commentator of the *Kâśikâ* :

परिषत्समुदायशब्दौ न्यासकृन्मतेन·

Idem. p. 209.

अष्टमः प्रहरणमस्य आष्टमीकः । अयं जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिमतेन.

Idem. p. 215.

I shall now proceed to deal with the objection urged by Mr. Trivedi against the identity of Bhâmaha's *Nyâsakâra* with the Buddhist commentator of the *Kâśikâ*. Mr. Trivedi says[3]: "Prof. K. B. Pathak brought to my notice that he had found the reference alluded to by Bhâmaha, *viz.*, the justification of the compound वृत्रहन्ता, in Jinendrabuddhi's *Kâśikâ-vivaraṇa-pañjikâ*. I thereupon

[1] *Ante*, April 1912. [2] *Ante*, Vol. XII, p. 20. [3] Introduction to his edition of *Pratâparudrîya*.

tried to verify the reference in question, and I am indebted to the learned Śâstrî A. Anantâchârya for an extract, which shows that there is no reference to वृत्रहन्ता in it." It is obvious that Mr. Trivedi understands Bhâmaha to say that the *Nyâsakâra* justifies the compouud वृत्रहन्ता. That this is not the correct interpretation of Bhâmaha's words, I shall try to show. I shall give below Bhâmaha's verses, together with the passage containing the *Nyâsakâra's jñâpaka,* as the extract supplied to Mr. Trivedi from Mysore is most corrupt.

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।
तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥
सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः ।
अकेन च न कुर्वीत वृत्तिं तद्गमको यथा ॥

Bhâmaha VI, 36 and 37.

The *Nyâsakâra-mata,* or the doctrine propounded by the *Nyâsakâra,* by deducing a ज्ञापक from Pâṇini's *sûtra* [II, 2, 15], alluded to by Bhâmaha, is as follows :

अथ किमर्थं तृचः सानुबन्धस्योच्चारणम् । तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थम् । नैतदस्ति । तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् । एवं तर्ह्येतदेव ज्ञापकं भवति तद्योगेपि क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति । तेन भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ।

Kâśikâ-vivaraṇa-pañjikâ or *Nyâsa.*

The substance of this passage is thus given by Śaraṇadeva, who wrote in Śaka 1095 :

कथं भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहर्तं (न्ते) ति । उच्यते । तृन्नन्तमेतत् । न च न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठेति (2. 3. 69) षष्ठीनिषेधः । यतस्तृजकाभ्यामि (2. 2. 15) त्यत्र तृचः सानुबन्धकस्योपादानं तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थं ज्ञापयति तृनो योगे क्वचित् षष्ठीति न्यासः

Durghaṭavṛitti, p. 37.

For a detailed explanation of the *Nyâsakâra's* passage, I refer the reader to my paper[4] on Bhâmaha's attacks on Jinendrabuddhi. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to point out that in the verses cited above Bhâmaha condemns all genitive compounds like वृत्रहन्ता and तद्गमक as ungrammatical, and says that such compounds should never be employed by young authors aspiring to literary eminence. When he contrasts the शिष्टप्रयोगमात्र with the न्यासकारमत, he does not mean to say that this particular compound वृत्रहन्ता is used by the शिष्ट or justified by the *Nyâsakâra.* Bhâmaha mentions this word वृत्रहन्ता as an illustration of **the class of genitive compounds** justified by the *Nyâsakâra.* This is amply proved by the expression इत्येवमादि in the sentence भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि, and by the ज्ञापक discriminating between तृच् and तृन्, which applies to all genitive compounds like वृत्रहन्ता. This interpretation of Bhâmaha's words which perfectly harmonizes with the sense intended by the *Nyâsakâra* himself, is upheld by such a competent authority as Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita in an interesting passage in the *Prauḍhamanoramâ.* In his *Siddhânta-kaumudî,* under Pâṇini II, 2, 15, we read कथं तर्हिघटानां निर्मातुः त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलह": इति । शेषषष्ठ्या समास इति कैयटः. On this Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita remarks :

शेषषष्ठ्या इति । केचित्तु जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिस्तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्चेति निर्देशादनित्योयं निषेध इत्याहुः । न्यासकारस्त्वाह । तृन्नन्तमेतत् । न लोकेति षष्ठीनिषेधस्त्वनित्यः । त्रकाभ्यामिति वक्तव्ये तृचः सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकादिति ।

Prauḍhamanoramâ, Benares Ed., Part I, p. 310.

Bhaṭṭoji's grandson Hari Dîkshita explains the words तृन्नन्तमेतत् as त्रिभुवनविधातुरित्येतत् । सानुबन्धकस्य । तस्य हि तृनेव व्यावर्त्यं इति भावः ।

[4] *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.,* Vol. XXIII., p. 18 ff.

This passage in the *Praudhamanoramâ* serves as an illuminating commentary on Bhâmaha's verses. The word शिष्ट refers to Pâṇini himself, who uses the compounds जनिकर्तुः and तत्प्रयोजक. But it is worth noting that Bhaṭṭoji's *Nyâsakâra* justifies the word त्रिभुवनविधातुः; the *Kâśikâ-Nyâsakâra* justifies भयशोकहन्ता; while Bhâmaha's *Nyâsakâra* justifies वृत्रहन्ता by one and the same ज्ञापक. And thus if we were to accept Mr. Trivedi's interpretation, we should be compelled to recognise three different *Nyâsakâras*, all commentators on Pâṇini, and all justifying genitive compounds in तृच् by the same method. Even then our difficulty would not end. For Bhaṭṭoji assures us that he applies the term न्यासकार to the *Kâśikâ-Nyâsakâra :*

पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति [VIII. 2,1] सूत्रे काशिकायां वहेः क्तान्तण्णिन्चि चाडि. औजढदित्युदाहृत्य क्तिन्नन्तस्य तु औजिढदित्युक्तम्। तत्रैव न्यासकृता णौ कृतस्य टिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भाव इति व्याख्यातम्

Praudhamanoramâ, Benares Ed., Part II ,p. 614.

स्वस्कापितृको मत्कपितृक इति [काशिका] वृत्ति मन्थं व्याख्याय न्यासकार उज्जगाह

Idem. Part I, p. 118.

And yet Bhaṭṭoji's *Kâśikâ-Nyâsakâra* justifies the word त्रिभुवनविधातु :, while the real *Kâśikâ-Nyâsakâra*, as we have seen, justifies the compound भयशोकहन्ता. Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita certainly was not so inconsistent as to recognise two *Kâśikâ-Nyâsakâras*. The distinguished author of the *Praudhamanoramâ* obviously understands the Buddhist commentator of the *Kâśikâ* to justify, by his ज्ञापक, all genitive compounds in तृच् including वृत्रहन्ता and त्रिभुवनविधातुः, when the latter says भीष्म : कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति. It is thus manifest that Bhaṭṭoji's interpretation of the *Nyâsakâra's* words is the same as that which Bhâmaha puts upon them. As the *Nyâsakâra* lived about A. D. 700, Bhâmaha must be assigned to the eighth century.

Bhâmaha was the son of Rakrilagomin. Mr. Trivedi says that *Gomin* is explained by *Naighanṭukas* as a contraction of *Gosvâmin*. This is not correct. The real explanation of *Gomin* is given by Vardhamâṇa at the beginning of his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* :

शालातुरीय शकटाङ्गज चन्द्र गोमि- ।

पूज्यश्चन्द्रः चन्द्रगोमी । "गोमिन् पूज्य" इति

Here Vardhamâna quotes a well-known *sûtra* from *Chandra-Vyâkaraṇa :*

गोमिन् पूज्ये. [IV. 2. 144]

गोमिन्निति पूज्ये निपात्यते । गोमान् अन्यः

Chandra-Vyâkaraṇa, German Ed., p. 74.

Rakrilagomin was Reverend Rakrila, a Buddhist, and his son Bhâmaha was also a Buddhist. Pûjyapâda is never called देवनन्द but always देवनन्दिन्. When Mr. Trivedi says that "many Nyâsakâras are mentioned in the *Dhâtuvṛitti* of Mâdhavâchârya: क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास, न्यासोद्योत, बोधिन्यास शाकटायनन्यास," he tells us something less than the truth. The *Mâdhavîya-dhâtuvṛitti* frequently mentions the *Nyâsakâra*.

यदाह न्यासकारः "ये निजादिभ्यः परे प्रयुज्यन्ते ते सर्वे छान्दसाः तथा हि तान्पठित्वा छन्दसीत्युक्तम्" इति.

Mâdh.-dhâ. जुहोत्यादि 14. Benares Ed., p. 126.

न्यासकारो पि कर्ष इति शपा निर्देशाद्भौवादिकस्य ग्रहणमित्याह.

Mâdh.-dhâ. तुदादि 6, Benares Ed., p. 214.

अमुं न्यासकारादयो नेच्छन्ति। यदाहः।क्षुभ्नादिषु तृ प्नोतीति ग्यत्ययेन शुरिति.

Mâdh.-dhâ. स्वादि 25. Benares Ed., p. 208.

न्यासकारोप्येवं निरुवाह-।स्मरणार्थोप्ययम्। च्चेतन्ती सुमतीनामिति दर्शनात् ।

Mâdh.-dhâ. भ्वादि 39. Benares Ed., p. 83.

"अत एकहल्" त्यत्र [काशिका VI, 4, 126] वृत्तौ जगणतुः जगणुरिति प्रत्युदाहरणसमर्थनार्थमनित्य-ऽयन्ताश्रुरादय इति न्यासकारेणाभिधानात्

Mâdh-dhâ., Benares Ed., p. 311.

From the last instance it is clear that the term *Nyâsakâra*, used by itself and without any prefix, always denotes the Buddhist commentator of the *Kâśikâ*.

Bhâmaha, who attacks this Buddhist commentator, must be assigned to the eighth century. In the following verses, Bhâmaha attacks the *Kâvyâdarśa*. I quote from Mr. Trivedi's text :

यदुक्तं त्रिप्रकारत्वं तस्याः कैश्चिन्महात्मभिः ।
निन्दाप्रशंसाचिख्यासाभेदादत्राभिधीयते ॥
सामान्यगुणनिर्देशात् त्रयमप्युदितं ननु ।
मालोपमादिः सर्वोऽपि न ज्यायान् विस्तरो मुधा ॥

Bhâmaha's *Alaṅkâra* II, 37 and 38.

Translation.

Some great authors have divided उपमा into three kinds on the basis of निन्दा, प्रशंसा and आचिख्यासा, such as निन्दोपमा, प्रशंसोपमा, and आचिख्यासोपमा. Our criticism is that the three kinds may well form one group under सामान्यगुण and that the prolixity of मालोपमा and other varieties, far from being good, is useless.

The expression अत्राभिधीयते is very important. It is often used by Śaṅkarâchârya. Ânandajñâna says that it introduces a refutation of an opponent's view set forth in the preceding passage :

तस्मात्प्रतिपत्तिविधिविषयतयैव शास्त्रप्रमाणकं ब्रह्माभ्युपगन्तव्यमिति । अत्राभिधीयते न । कर्मब्रह्म-विद्याफलयोर्वैलक्षण्यात् ।

Śârîraka-Bhâshya

परमतनिरासं प्रतिजानीते नेति

Ânandajñâna, Ânandâśrama Ed., Vol. I, p. 55.

The author criticized by Bhâmaha, in the verses quoted above, recognizes निन्दोपमा, प्रशंसोपम-आचिख्यासोपमा, मालोपमा and other varieties of उपमा so numerous that Bhâmaha is heartily sick of them. Who is this author ? We read :

पद्मं बहुरजश्चन्द्रः क्षयी ताभ्यां तवाननम् ।
समानमपि सोत्सेकमिति निन्दोपमा स्मृता ॥

Kâvyâdarśa II, 30.

ब्रह्मणोऽप्युद्भवः पद्मश्चन्द्रः शम्भुशिरोधृतः ।
तौ तुल्यौ त्वन्मुखेनेति सा प्रशंसोपमोच्यते ॥

Idem. II, 31.

चन्द्रेण त्वन्मुखं तुल्यमित्याचिख्यासु मे मनः ।
स गुणो वास्तु दोषो वेत्याचिख्यासोपमां विदुः ॥

Idem. II, 32.

पूष्ण्यातप इवाह्नीव पूषा व्योम्नीव वासरः ।
विक्रमस्त्वय्यधाल्लक्ष्मीमिति मालोपमा मता ॥

Idem. II, 42.

In addition to these four kinds Daṇḍin enumerates twenty-nine other varieties, which, in the opinion of Bhâmaha, are perfectly useless. As regards the first three cited above, it is suggested that this is a distinction without a difference, as all the three can be grouped into one class under सामान्यगुण. The justice of Bhâmaha's criticism will be at once admitted if we reflect that these numerous varieties are not recognised by Sanskrit writers on *Alaṁkâra*, who succeeded Bhâmaha. Nor can it be urged against this view, that Daṇḍin copied these thirty-three varieties from some previous author, since such a presumption is rebutted by the fact that Nṛipatuṅga[5] has admitted most of these *upamâs* into his *Kavirâjamârga* II, 59-85.

[5] "Nṛipatuṅga and the authorship of the *Kavirâjamârga*," *Jour. Bomb. As Soc.*, Vol. XXII, p. 81 ff.

Having proved that Bhâmaha criticises Daṇḍin, I shall proceed to discuss the date of the *Kâvyâdarśa*. Patañjali in his comments on Pâṇini (III, 1, 7) says : न वै तिङन्तेनोपमानमस्ति.

Daṇḍin says that this authoritative statement of Patañjali is entirely disregarded by those who wish to find an example of उपमा in the well-known line from the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* लिम्पतीव etc., merely because the word इव occurs in it, though in reality it is an illustration of उत्प्रेक्षा properly so called

लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
इतीदमपि भूयिष्ठमुत्प्रेक्षालक्षणान्वितम् ॥

Kâvyâdarśa II, 226

केषाञ्चिदुपमाभ्रान्तिरिवश्रुत्येह जायते ।
नोपमानं तिङन्तेनेत्यतिक्रम्याप्तभाषितम् ॥

Idem. II, 227.

In his comments upon Pâṇini (I, 4, 49) Patañjali does not divide कर्म into different This deficiency has been supplied by Bhartṛihari whose classification has been adopted by the authors of the *Padamañjarî* and the *Mâdhavîya-dhâtuvṛitti*. Bhartṛihari says :

निर्वर्त्यं च विकार्यं च प्राप्यं चेति त्रिधा मतम् ।
तच्चेप्सिततमं कर्म चतुर्धान्यत्तु कल्पितम् ॥ 45 ॥
औदासीन्येन यत्प्राप्तं यच्च कर्तुरनीप्सितम् ।
संज्ञान्तरैरनाख्यातं यद्यच्चाप्यन्यपूर्वकम् ॥ 46 ॥
यदसज्जायते सद्वा जन्मना यत्प्रकाश्यते ।
तन्निर्वर्त्यं विकार्यं च कर्म द्वेधा व्यवस्थितम् ॥ 49 ॥
प्रकृत्युच्छेदसम्भूतं किञ्चित्काष्ठादि भस्मवत् ।
किञ्चिद् गुणान्तरोत्पत्त्या सुवर्णादिविकारवत् ॥ 50 ॥
क्रियाकृतविशेषाणां सिद्धिर्यत्र न गम्यते ।
दर्शनादनुमानाद्वा तत्प्राप्यमिति कथ्यते ॥ 51 ॥

Vâkyapadîya III, Benares Ed., p. 202.

Helârâja remarks :

कर्तुः क्रियया यदीप्सिततममाप्तुमिष्यमाणतमं तदेव(वं)लक्षणम् प्रथम [I, 4, 49] सूत्रनिर्दिष्टम् कर्म त्रिभिः प्रकारैः निर्वर्त्यविकार्यप्राप्यरूपैः भिन्नमनेकन्तावन्निर्दिष्टं बोद्धव्यम्

Bhûtirâja says :

एवं तावत्प्रथमसूत्रलक्षितं निर्वर्त्य-विकार्य-प्राप्यभेदेन त्रिधा भिन्नं कर्म व्याख्याय

Idem. p. 216.

Haradatta says :

एतच्चेप्सिततमं कर्म त्रिविधं निर्वर्त्यं विकार्यं प्राप्यमिति. and, after citing the above verses, continues: तत्र निर्वर्त्यं घटं करोतीति; विकार्यं काष्ठानि भस्म करोतीति सुवर्णं कुण्डलं करोतीति ; प्राप्यमादित्यं पश्यतीति.

Padamañjarî, Benares Ed., Vol. I, p. 302.

The *Mâdhavîya-dhâtuvṛitti* says :

तत्र आद्यं [ईप्सिततमं कर्म] त्रिधा, निर्वर्त्यं, विकार्यं प्राप्यमिति

and then cites Bhartṛihari's verses.

Mâdh-dhâ., Benares Ed., p. 12.

This threefold division of ईप्सिततमं कर्म is not mentioned by Patañjali under Pâṇini (I, 4, 49). The commentators Helârâja and Bhûtirâja assure us, by using the expressions प्रथमसूत्रनिर्दिष्टम् and प्रथमसूत्रलक्षितम् that this threefold division of कर्म was evolved out of the *sûtra* by the genius of Bhartṛihari himself. This view is endorsed by Kaiyaṭa in his remarks on the *Sûtra* कर्मण्यण्. We need not be surprised if Daṇḍin, who quotes Patañjali, and calls him *âpta*, shows his familiarity with the *Vâkyapadîya* and borrows these technical terms :

निर्वर्त्ये च विकार्ये च हेतुत्वं तदपेक्षया ।
प्राप्ये तु कर्मणि प्रायः क्रियापेक्षैव हेतुता ॥
हेतुर्निर्वर्तनीयस्य दर्शितः शेषयोर्द्वयोः ।
दत्त्वोदाहरणद्वंद्वं ज्ञापको वर्णयिष्यते ॥

Kâvyâdarśa II, 240 and 241.

Bhartṛihari died in A. D. 650. It is thus evident that Daṇḍin flourished in the latter half of the 7th century. And Bhâmaha, who attacks the views of Daṇḍin and of the *Nyâsakâra*, must be assigned to the 8th century.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE TEMPLES OF SOUTHERN INDIA UNDERTAKEN BY MARTIM AFONSO DE SOUZA, THE 12TH GOVERNOR OF PORTUGUESE INDIA.

BY W. R. VARDE-VALAVLIKAR; BOMBAY.

GASPAR CORREA, the author of the *Lendas da India*, in his narration of events that took place during the administration of Martim Afonso de Souza, gives an account of the expedition undertaken by him to some of the rich temples of Southern India. Among other things, the said narration contains a graphic description of one of the festivals of the Temple of Tremelle, which is very amusing and reads like a romance.

Martim Afonso assumed the reins of government in May 1542. He had already made himself famous as Captain-in-chief of the sea (*Capitão mór do mar*) on account of his bravery and warlike qualities, before he was appointed Governor of Goa. He was a great favourite with the clergy, and the Jesuit author of the *Oriente Conquistado* showers high encomiums on him.[1] His administration shows that he did not hesitate to perpetrate any atrocity under the pretence of religion. He was, therefore, quite an apt man to undertake a predatory expedition to the *pagodas* of the *Gentoos* of the South.

Martim Afonso had received special orders to fit out this expedition from king Dom João III,[2] surnamed the Pious, who had received reports from some of the Portuguese residents in India of great wealth to be found in a certain temple in Southern India. On assuming the reins of office, his first care was to fit out a fleet for the projected expedition, and he carried out the preparations for the same with the greatest secrecy. As soon as the fleet was ready for sail on the 27th of August 1543, he sent ahead four vessels under the command of four captains, under sealed orders, with special injunction that the said orders were not to be opened until the vessels were twenty leagues away from the bar of Goa. This proceeding excited the curiosity of some of the *fi lalgos*[3] with the result that they importuned him to be admitted into the secret of the expedition. He thereupon gave them to understand that he was going to Pegu to assist the king of the place against the Bramas (Burmese) and that he was promised a great treasure for the king of Portugal in return for his services.[4]

On the 1st September, the Governor left the city of Goa for Pangim, and the next day he started with a fleet of 45 sail, 300 cavalry, 3,000 seamen and soldiers and a lot of musketry.

The fleet went to Cochin, where the object of the expedition, so far kept secret, leaked out. There it came to be known that the Governor was going to rob the very rich Temple of Tremelle situate in the port of Paleacate (Pulicat), in the dominions of Bisnega (Vijayanagar); that further, in order not to leave anything belonging to the Portuguese exposed on the whole coast of Paléacàte, the Governor had already sent orders to the inhabitants of São Thomè (near Madras), to raze to the ground the church of the apostle, to take steps to save the holy relics, and after pulling down all other habitations, to embark with their goods in the big vessels that lay there at anchor for that purpose.[5] The object of these orders was plain enough in as much as after the committal of the contemplated robbery, retaliation was certain; in which case, nothing would escape the vengeance of the people of the land.

It will be sufficient to give an idea of the great wealth of the Temple of Tremelle to state that at the time of the civil war in the kingdom of Bisnega (about 1535), the legitimate heir to the throne, on applying to the managers of this temple for help, when he desired to take

[1] *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo, Conquista* 1, *divisão* 1, *paragraphos* 28, 29, 30.

[2] King of Portugal, 1521-1557.

[3] Portuguese grandees.

[4] *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XXX.

[5] *Ibid.* chap. XXXIII.

possession of his kingdom and expel the usurper, was assisted with gold coins laden on a hundred bullocks ! [6]

The Temple of Tremelle is no doubt the same as that of Tirumala about which the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* gives the following information :—" Tirupati, in the taluk of Chandragiri in North Arcot District, Madras, is celebrated throughout Southern India for the temple on Tirumala, the holy hill, 2,500 feet high. This place, often known as Upper Tirupati, is six miles distant from Tirupati town and situated in 13° 41′ N. and 79° 21′ E. The shrine is dedicated to Venkateswaraswami, an incarnation of Vishnu, and is considered so holy that formerly no Christian or Musalman was allowed even to ascend the hill . . . . From all parts of India thousands of pilgrims annually flock to Tirupati with rich offerings to the idol. Up to 1843 the temple was under the management of Government, which derived a considerable revenue from these offerings ; but now they are made over to the *mahant* (trustee) . . . . During the first six years of British rule the income of the temple averaged upwards of two lakhs . . . . . . The hill on which the temple stands possesses a number of the usual holy bathing places, some of which are picturesquely situated."[7]

Correa says that the principal source of the immense wealth of this temple depended on the charity offered by pilgrims who flocked there by millions on festive occasions, the chief amongst which fell on the full moon day in the month of August. A fair was held every year on this occasion in front of the temple, when the kings of Bisnega, from remote times, gave free access to all kinds of merchandise without any duties whatsoever.[8] He then describes this festival as follows:—

"I saw this festival and the fair, which is held on that day. The temple stands on a large plain (*campo*). The people begin coming to this place with their baggage a fortnight earlier. At this time, there will be seen three to four hundred thousand of horses. Here people of all the nations of the world are to be seen and all kinds of merchandise which can be named and all the things of the world—the whole universe—are to be found in great abundance. All the coins of the world are current at this fair.

"The plain which is full of people, covers an area of about eight leagues interspersed with a great number of small tents, where anybody can kill, with impunity, a thief caught in the very act of stealing.

"The pilgrims, before going to the temple, wash their bodies, apply sandal paste, dress themselves gaily and adorn themselves with ornaments of gold.

"The male pilgrims shave their heads clean with razors with the exception of a thin lock on the top of the head which they twist and tie beautifully. It is said that this lock is of much use to the fighting men, in-as-much as when they fall on the battlefield, it serves the purpose of carrying them by their heads hung by it instead of by their ears, nose or beard, which is considered a great dishonour. There is a sufficient number of barbers who sit apart under the shade of some big trees and shave each head for a single copper coin called *caixa*.[9] It is highly surprising to see the heaps of cut hair which fill the space under the trees as well as over them. This hair, however, is not allowed to run to waste. There is a dealer who buys it from the barbers for a thousand

6 *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XXI.

7 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 393.

8 *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XXXI.

9 *Caixa* is a corruption of *cash* or *kas*, 80 of which make 1 *fanam* or *panam* : 42 *fanams* make 1 star pagoda, which was 19¼ carats fine and intrinsically worth 7s. 5½d. These coins were formerly used in the Madras Presidency.

pardaos[10] or more: he gets them twisted and made into thick or thin cords, puffs for women and many other things, out of which he makes a lot of money by selling them at the same fair.

"On the eve as well as on the day of the festival and throughout the night, the pilgrims, according to their means, present offerings to the deity, always accompanied with some coins. The rich sometimes offer from one to five thousand *pardaos*; the quantity of gold coins thus offered and lying before the temple is so great that it equals a heap of about 21 5½ bushels (ten *moios*)[11] of wheat.

"Near the temple there are four big wells full of water. Besides these, some of the merchants open wells for their private use. There are other wells opened by poor men to sell water. Rich men open wells out of charity and count it a meritorious act just as we do with our alms, and in this way, there is to be found an ample supply of water. Eatables of all kinds in the world are to be had here in plenty and dishes of every sort that one can desire are to be found here. She-goats, sheep, lambs, kids and more than a million of *rezes*[12] are sacrificed in front of the temple and after their blood is offered to the deity, the carcasses are given away in charity to the poor who sell them to butchers; thus there is a great abundance of meats of all kinds to be had at this fair.

"The king of Bisnega comes to this festival accompanied by about 10,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, and a hundred to two hundred ladies attached to his person. The latter are conveyed in locked palanquins elegantly gilt inside and fitted with a very fine silver net through which they unseen could see all that passed. The vehicles are so constructed that the ladies can sit, sleep and perform their functions (*podem fazer seus feitos*) in them. A narration of their customs, the opulence of their ornaments, food and lodging would be an endless story, almost incredible. The king, while travelling, halts at several places and at each of them he is received and lodged with all his retinue and the great lords who accompany him, in a house specially built for the occasion by the principal man of the place, even if the king were to pass there a single day or night. The house consists of walls of clay covered with tiles; its inner roof is artistically overlaid and the whole thing is painted and finished with great perfection; it is provided with tanks and gardens full of aromatic herbs. It is so beautiful and comfortable that even the great king of Spain would be much pleased to stay there for a long time. The king with all his retinue is served there with daintiest dishes and there is so much abundance and plenty, that the host who entertains the king a single night spends more than 50,000 *pardaos*. The house is pulled down as soon as the king goes away; for nobody can live in the house where the king has once lodged. In this way, new houses are built every year for the reception of the king; this gives rise to competition and rivalry among the hosts of several places, every one amongst whom tries his utmost to surpass the rest in point of perfection and abundance; for the host who gives the best reception is highly praised and honoured by the king. On the other hand, the host who, in spite of his opulence, is careless in according to the king a reception befitting his dignity and pomp, is ordered to be tied to four stakes and whipped barebodied, with his belly towards the ground!"[13]

[10] "And if any one does not know what a *pardao* is, let him know that it is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom (Vijaya-Nagar); it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king (Krishna Deva) ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India. Each *pardao*, as already said, is worth three hundred and sixty *reis*." (*A Forgotten Empire, Narrative of Domingo Paes*, p. 282.) The *Pardao* was worth about 1s. 6¾d.

[11] The *moio* is a measure of capacity used in Portugal for corn, barley, etc. It contains sixty *alqueires*. One *alqueire* holds 1 peck, 3 quarts and 1 pint.

[12] Beasts of pasture such as sheep, oxen, etc.

[13] *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XXXII.

At Cochin the Governor resolved to go to the port of Paleacate and thence to proceed to the Temple of Tremelle with 400 cavalry, 2,000 musqueteers and 2,000 slaves; the latter were intended to get together the riches of the temple and carry the same every one of them a sack on his back. Accordingly, he steered towards Cape Comorin, doubled the same and went along the coast up to Beadala (Vadaulay),[14] where he took some native pilots on board and reached the island of Vaqas.[15] There he remained for some days awaiting the arrival of a *catur*[16] which he had sent to Paleacate to get some information about that port. The *catur* brought news that there was not sufficient water in the river of Paleacate and that only a small ship could enter it with spring tide. Furthermore, the Governor came to know that the news of his expedition had already reached the Court of Bisnega, who were well prepared to defend the temple at all risks, and that even in spite of this, if he were to go there with two to three thousand well armed men and ten thousand musqueteers, not one of them would escape the people of that place who, for their multitude, could, with handfuls of earth bury alive any number of Portuguese troops.[17] The prospect of a big haul was thus frustrated, and one of the holiest and the richest shrines of Southern India was saved from the iniquitous designs of Martim Afonso de Souza.

The Governor then retreated to Quilon. In the neighbourhood of this place, at a distance of about a league, in the interior, there was a rich temple, the riches whereof consisted chiefly in precious stones. The king Dom João III, having learned of this fact from his captains at Quilon, had instructed the Governor to sack the temple. The time seemed very favourable to the plunderer, as one of the *jangades*[18] of the temple had gone with a force of 10,000 men to Cape Comorin to assist the king of the place against the much suspected Portuguese invasion.

The Governor accompanied by his men crossed the river that lay between Quilon and the temple and went along a narrow way that led through woods and palmgroves. The natives of the place knowing his object, offered him 50,000 *pardaos* and requested him to withdraw; but he refused their offer and proceeded on his way and having missed it at some point, reached the temple late in the evening.

Near the temple, there were some huts thatched with grass. Here was a great deal of merchandise of all sorts, especially white linen manufactured at Cape Comorin.

A high enclosure of stone wall surrounded the temple, within which the Governor rallied all his troops and gave them strict orders not to step out of it. The natives, armed with bows and arrows and some muskets, gathered fast outside the wall, but they could not resist the plunderers who far outnumbered them. The Governor entered the temple with some men of his choice and having fastened the door behind him, learnt from the black men of the temple where the treasure lay; he then ordered his slaves to dig the particular spot and after some big stones were removed, he dismissed them; next, he gathered all that was found in the hole and put it into two big barrels and wrapped them up with cloth. By a stratagem the barrels were made to drip to make the people believe that they contained nothing but water; but the people knew full well that the contents were such as could not be damaged in spite of their being in water.[19]

The next morning, the Governor ordered the place to be set on fire. He did not suffer his men to rob anything; for he did not want them to be overloaded with heavy burdens that would prevent

14 A port of the ancient kingdom of Vijayanagar, on the Ramnad coast, Madura district.

15 Near Cape Comorin.

16 A small ship of war with oars

17 *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XLIII.

18 The kings and the chiefs of the land appoint, according to their usage, two respectable gentlemen as captains to guard their temples. They are called *jangades*. They have many men under them and perform the duty of councillors and administrators of the temples. They get their living out of the revenue of the temples and are discharged by the king at his will and replaced by others. (*Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XLIV).

19 *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XLIV.

them from marching quickly; some of his men wanted to take away the copper tiles with which the roof of the temple was covered; but they were not allowed even to touch them.

The Governor then ordered the troops to return by the same way they had come. He caused the two barrels to be hung on poles and carried alternately by eight slaves under the strict vigilance of Gracia de Sá.

Just at the time when the troops began to move, a rich Nair (the compeer of the *jangade* who had gone to assist the king of Cape Comorin), wearing gold bracelets and earrings and armed with sword and target, made his appearance on the spot accompanied by about a dozen Nairs finely dressed and well armed. Unmindful of their small number, they all made a daring attack on the Portuguese and died a heroic death without retreating even an inch. In spite of this misfortune, the native archers pursued the Portuguese on their way through the woods and harassed them to the utmost. At last, in the afternoon when they reached some open fields free from any woods, the archers left them. Then the Governor and his troops took rest near a fountain of excellent water and had some refreshment.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Governor marched again with his troops quite in a different direction and went to another big temple which was also covered with copper tiles. He found in it a big stump of wood which was said to contain plenty of money. The Governor ordered it to be rooted up and loading it on the shoulders of some black men, carried it to the bank of the river, whence they passed to an island. There, in the presence of all his men, he broke it open, and found in it a number of silver coins of little value, which he threw among the troops who scrambled for them.[20]

The Governor then publicly expressed his regret at undertaking this expedition which, as he said, put him to much expense and gave much trouble to his troops and brought no gain in return except a gold vessel worth about two thousand *pardaos*. He added that the king his master was greatly deceived by the men in India in making him believe that great wealth would be found in that temple. His men, however, did not believe his tale, which they thought to be a gross lie invented to avoid making payments to them. They, therefore, bore a grudge against him and cursed him bitterly.

The Governor fell ill at this island and was bled three times. When he got better he went to Quilon and thence to Cochin with his whole fleet. From Cochin he proceeded to Goa.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 213.)

Suklâi: viscous extract of the bark of a hill-tree, generally the *pûla*, *bahal* or *fâlsa* used to bring the scum to the top of boiling sugar-juice. Jullundur S. R. p. 120.

Sulâni: a prop. Jullundur S. R., p. 102.

Sulâr: leather-trousers, commonly worn by Râjpûts, etc.; also called *chamkar*. Kângra Gloss.

Sultâni: a well that reaches the real spring water. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 159.

Sûngâ: sniffers; a class of men, generally holy *faqîrs*, who are believed to be able to smell sweet water below ground. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 178.

Sungal=gâjâ: iron scourge. Chamba., Described in Oldham's Sun and Serpent, p. 98.

Sunî: a fish (*Crossochilus reba*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Sunji-ki-rôtî: supper: see under *datiâlû*.

Sunkar: a coarse rice. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 184.

[20] *Lendas da India*, Vol. IV, *Lenda de Martim Afonso de Souza*, chap. XLIV.

Sunxi : the sticks of *sani*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 189.

Sunnâ : to hear, to listen.

Sûra : a reddish insect preying on the inside leaf of the arrow of sugar-cane, and thus stopping all growth. Cf. *gaddi*. Jullundur S. R., p. 119.

Surnâlî : a wild convolvulus. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 17.

Surnâli : a variety of tobacco. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 191.

Surta : a variety of sugar-cane, having a long, soft, thick, white cane; the best of all, but somewhat delicate, and especially fancied by jackals. Cf. *sotha*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 180.

Sûsi : a hare: see *dantî*.

Susra : father-in-law. Cf. *khakhra*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Susrâr : the wife's father's family. Cf. *susrâl*.

Susrâl : the wife's father's family. Cf. *susrâr* and *sâsrâ*. Gurgaon S. R., 1872-80, App. V., p. 1.

Sûtar : the villages on the border of the smaller stream. Hissar S. R., p. 18.

Silâwar : trousers = *suthân* : Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Swânî : wife = *voti* —used by Râjputs: see *lârî*.

Syâna : literally 'knowing ones'; a class of men who exercise the gift of divination under the inspiration of some deity or other, generally a snake-god or Saiyad. Karnâl S. R., 1872-8, p. 145

Tâbar : a child. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 121.

Tadia : an armlet. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 133.

Tagâda : jewelry. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 67.

Tâgri : a waist string for fastening a small cloth between the legs. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Tagri : a waist band of silver chain, worn by boys. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Tahav : branch of a tree.

Tâke : clothes. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 150.

Takka : a unit of assessment, payment being made partly in cash and partly in kind. Kuthâr ? (Simla Hills.)

Takwa : a snake. Cf. *harewa*. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Tâl : a tarn or lake; *dal* is commoner. Kângra Gloss.

Talak : a sacred grove. Karnâl S. R , 1872-80, p. 156.

Tali : upper storey: but in trans-Girî it means the house of an ordinary man, *i.g.*, *ghar*.

Tâlna : to pick out, as weeds, etc. Kângra Gloss.

Tamand : a piece of cloth worn round the loins. Cf. *sâṛa*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 42.

Tâmba bainsî : a variety of cobra snake. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Tamsâl : an open yard in a house. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 120.

Tânbia : a cooking pot, of another kind. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Tanda : a small strand. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 200.

Tandan : ice or icicle. (*Gâdi*).

Tângar : the stalks of the gram plant. Jullundur S. R., p. 127.

Tangli : a four-pronged fork. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 72.

Tantia : a wasp. Bauria *argot*.

Tâola : a wooden bearing on which the *châk* (wheel) of the potter rests. Cf. *khîli*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 200.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

ON BUDDHAMITRA, THE TEACHER OF VASUBANDHU.

DR. TAKAKUSU says that Vindhyavâsa was successful in a dispute with Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. Vindhyavâsa lived in the middle of the tenth century after the Buddha's Nirvâṇa or about A.D. 450. In A D. 448-49, corresponding to the Gupta year 129, during the reign of Kumâragupta a Bhikshu Buddhamitra installed an image of Buddha at Mankuwar, and in the inscription on the pedestal of the image tells us that "Buddha was not refuted in respect of his opinions." This shows that this Buddhist Bhikshu was so famous for his learning that no contemporary Brahman scholar, however eminent, could venture to attack Buddhism. I therefore conclude that this Bhikshu Buddhamitra of the Mankuwar inscription was identical with the Buddhamitra who was the teacher of Vasubandhu, the latter being contemporary with Kumâragupta, as I have already shown.

Another inference which I draw from the expression *sva-mat-âviruddhasya* applied to Buddha in this inscription is that the religious controversy, in which Buddhamitra was so signally defeated by Vindhyavâsa that the reigning sovereign Vikramâditya transferred his patronage from Buddhism to Brahminism, could not have taken place in the reign of Chandragupta-Vikramâditya ; as in that case the statement that Buddha was not refuted in respect of his opinions, would never have been accepted as true by the people in the time of Kumâragupta. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that this religious controversy took place in the time of Skandagupta-Vikramâditya and that Vasubandhu's patrons mentioned by Paramârtha were Skandagupta-Vikramâditya and Narasiṁhagupta-Bâlâditya.

As regards the son of Chandragupta II, whose patronage Vasubandhu enjoyed according to the interesting half-verse which Vâmana has preserved for us, I have already identified this prince with Kumâragupta. It is thus clear that Buddhamitra and his famous pupil Vasubandhu were both living in the reigns of Kumâragupta and Skandagupta; while Vasubandhu was contemporary with Kumâragupta, Skandagupta and Bâlâditya, and died at the age of 80, shortly after the accession of the last named prince. The date of Bâlâditya's accession is as yet far from being settled. We are, therefore, not able to say how old Vasubandhu was in A. D. 414, the year in which Kumâragupta ascended the throne. Vasubandhu's literary career, nevertheless, nearly coincides with the first three quarters of the fifth century; while Dignâga, to whom I-tsing refers as being later than Vasubandhu, must be placed in the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century (A.D. 475-525). Texts of Dignâga's works on logic were in existence in the year A.D. 539, the date of the Chinese mission, and were carried by Paramârtha to China in the year 546, and there translated into Chinese.

K. B. PATHAK.

BOOK-NOTICE.

KADAMBARI, by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.B., Pleader, High Court, Bombay. Price, Rs.3. Sold by the Oriental Publishing Company, Girgaon, Bombay.

THIS is a students' edition and the editor has spared no pains to make it useful to the students. The introduction is scholarly and the notes are erudite. It were far better, however, if the notes could have been reduced to one-third its present size.

Pp. xv-xvi. Âḍhyarâja is referred to as a poet. See, however, Pischel's article on Âḍhyarâja in the *Gottinger Nachrichten*, 1901 (subsequently translated into English and published in the *Collegian*, 1911-1912).

Notes, p. 32. सौदामनी has been explained सुदामा पर्वतः तेन एकदिक्. This is how Mallinâtha explained the word in the *Meghadûta* (I. 37). It is covered by Pâṇini, IV. 3. 112. The second explanation सुदामा मेघः तत्र भवः is supported by Bhânuji in his commentary on the *Amarakośa*. The first explanation, however, seems to be more authoritative. For सौदामनी seems to have been an adjective originally. Compare such phrases as "तडित् सौदमनी यथा" and "विद्युत् सौदामनी यथा" in the *Bhâgavata* (I. 6. 27; VIII. 8. 8; X. 49. 27). "विद्युत् सौदामनी यथा" occurs thrice in the *Râmâyana* and twice in the *Mahâbhârata*. As it was fashionable once to say "red gold" and "baron bold" in English, so it seems to have been fashionable to say विद्युत् सौदामनी or तडित् सौदामनी in Sanskrit. The explanation is furnished by Śrîdhara as follows: सुदामा नाम कश्चित् स्फटिकपर्वतः . . . . स्फटिकमयपर्वतप्रान्तभवा हि विद्युत् अतिस्फुटा भवति तद्वत् ।

VANAMALI CHAKRAVARTTI,
Principal, Srinagar.

ON THE SESHAS OF BENARES.

BY S. P. V. RANGANATHASVAMI ARYAVARAGURU OF VIZAGAPATAM.

I.

Whoever wishes to master the Sanskrit language, must completely understand the grammar of it, for in a language like Sanskrit, in which a great many words in common use have peculiarities of their own, ready-made grammatical forms can carry the student but a little way. Moreover, a scientific study of the grammar of a dead language, which is not learned for use in practical life, is certainly to be preferred to a mere empiric study. Accordingly, the grammarians never resorted to a mere unscientific teaching of the forms as such and mixing them up unconnectedly into a list, for it is said in the *Mahâbhâshya:*

एवं हि श्रूयते बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच नान्तं जगाम। बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्चाध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रमध्ययनकालो न चान्तं जगाम। किं पुनरद्यत्वे यः सर्वथा चिरंजीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति। . . . . तस्मादनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः। कथं तर्हीमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः। किंचित्सामान्यविशेषवल्लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यं येनाल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन्॥

[For it is thus heard—Brihaspati to Indra expounded, for a thousand years of the gods, the vocabulary of words, uttered word by word, and he did not reach the end. And Brihaspati was the expounder, and Indra, the learner, and the time of study, a thousand years of the gods,—and he did not reach the end!—how much less in these days. He who is very long-lived lives but a hundred years . . . . . therefore in the setting forth of words the recitation of them word by word is inexpedient. How, then, are these words to be set forth? Some criterion, embracing homogeneousnesses and peculiarities, must be employed whereby with little effort, they (the learners) may learn quantities of words.—J. R. Ballantyne.]

And so they adopted to the method of Rule and Exception. Among the earliest attempts to formulate such rules may be cited the work of **Pâṇini**, who is also the greatest of grammarians, as his work includes all the forms, both of the classical and Vedic literatures. **Vararuchi**, while criticising, enriched it with his *vârtikas*. **Patañjali** again wrote a critical commentary on him,[1] and **Bhartṛihari** wrote a commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* of Patañjali. Kaiyaṭa, in his *Bhâshyapradîpa*, refers to this commentary:

भाष्याब्धिः क्वातिगंभीरः क्वाहं मन्दमतिस्ततः।
छात्राणामुपहास्यत्वं यास्यामि पिशुनात्मनाम्॥
तथापि हरिबद्धेन सारेण ग्रन्थसेतुना।
क्रममाणः शनैः पारं तस्य प्राप्तोऽस्मि पङ्गुवत्॥

But Bhartṛihari seems to have commented on the first three *pâdas* only; for, in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, Vardhamâna, referring to Bhartṛihari as a grammarian, says:

भर्तृहरिर्महाभाष्यत्रिपाद्या व्याख्याता वाक्यपदीयप्रकीर्णकयोश्च कर्ता।

It is owing to this commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* that Bhartṛihari is called **Ṭîkâkâra**. But Râmabhadradîkshita (17th century) of Tanjore, says: टीका न तस्य लभते स्म भुवि प्रतिष्ठाम्।[2], giving, as his reason, Bhartṛihari's self-conceit.

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[1] We learn from *Vâkyapadîya*, that Vyâdi wrote a voluminous commentary on Pâṇini, called *Saṁgraha*, extending over two lakhs of lines, of which *Mahâbhâshya* is an abridgment. Cf. *Vâkyapadîya*, p. 283 f. (Benares Sanskrit Series).

[2] *Patañjali-charita*, canto viii, stanzas 14 and 15. A fragment of Bhartṛihari's commentary on *Mahâbhâshya* is found in the Royal Library at Berlin (*vide* Weber's Catalogue 720; Camber's 553).

Another set of commentaries arose on the same aphorisms of Pâṇini, in *Kâśikâ* and its commentaries, of *Padamañjarî* of **Haradatta** and *Vṛittinyâsa* or *Kâśikâ-vivaraṇa-pañjikâ* of **Jinendrabuddhi.** As with the previous set, commentaries again arose on these commentaries; *e. g.* *Anunyâsa* or *Tantrapradîpa* by **Maitreya-rakshita.** This work has been wrongly identified by some[3] with *Dhâtupradîpa* by the same author, owing to a mistake in the following verse which occurs at the end of the latter work:

वृत्तिन्यासं समुद्दिश्य कृतवान् ग्रन्थविस्तरम् ।
नाम्ना तन्त्रप्रदीपो ऽयं विवृतास्तेन धातव : ॥

Here तन्त्रप्रदीपोऽयं is a mistake for तन्त्रप्रदीपं यो. The verse reads correctly in the copy of *Dhâtupradîpa* belonging to the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 3718). *Tantrapradîpa* is therefore a different work and is noticed by Rajendralal Mitra, in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. 2076. It is really unfortunate that so valuable a work is not found in any of the public libraries of India or Europe. In these two sets of commentaries there are slight differences of opinion.

Any one, wishing to master the grammar of the language should study completely either of these two sets of works dealing with the *Bhâshyamata* and *Vṛittimata* respectively and spend much time in doing so. In fact, it is said that the complete study of the grammar of the Sanskrit language requires a dozen years. Hence arose an impulse to simplify matters and make the people comprehend the grammar of the language in a shorter period. We hear of such an impulse as early as the *Kathâsaritsâgara*:

शिक्षमाणः प्रयत्नेन कालेन कियता पुमान् ।
अधिगच्छति पांडित्यमेतन्मे कथ्यतां त्वया ॥ 142 ॥

. . . . . .

ततोऽहमवदं राजन् वर्षैर्द्वादशभिः सदा ।
ज्ञायते सर्वविद्यानां मुखं व्याकरणं नरैः ॥ 144 ॥

. . . . . .

सुखोचितो जनः क्लेशं कथं कुर्यादियच्चिरम् ।
तदहं मासषट्केन देव त्वां शिक्षयामि तत् ॥ 146 ॥ [I. vi.]

This impulse was met in two ways. Some of the scholars began to prepare new books, which were very concise, and they composed new aphorisms and glosses thereon. Thus arose new schools of grammar, comprising *Kâtantra*, *Mugdhabodha* and others. Others, on the other hand, did not like to compose new aphorisms, but retained those of Pâṇini alone, and proceeded in another direction. They classified and rearranged the aphorisms of Pâṇini in the order of their precedence of application with regard to the different sections of grammar. Then they were commented upon and linked together a chain of rules to be applied to the formation of particular words. Thus a number of aphorisms became associated with a particular word and with each other, and enabled the reader to memorise them easily. In this way a new school of grammar arose, including *Rûpâvatâra*, *Prakriyâkaumudî*, *Siddhântakaumudî*, etc. Among the greatest of the scholars who worked in this direction was **Sesha Kṛishṇa**, who composed a commentary, *Prakriyâprakâśa*, on the *Prakriyâkaumudî*. Sesha is the family name, and Kṛishṇa the author's own name.

[3] Cf. Prof. J. Eggeling, on page 182 of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office Library* (No. 687).

It is of this family of Seshas, whose members are scholars for six or even seven generations that we shall speak in the following pages. The family has a peculiar claim on our attention. Every student of *Vyâkaraṇa-śâstra*, nowadays, is ultimately a *śishya* of this family, for he will read the *Siddhântakaumudî* by **Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita**, who was a pupil of **Vîreśvara**, son of Kṛishṇa, mentioned above. He will also read the *Śabdenduśekhara*, etc. of **Nâgoji Bhaṭṭa**, pupil again of the grandson of Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita. We may, therefore, look upon the Sesha family as the ultimate source of the present school of *Vyâkaraṇa-śâstra*.[4]

II.

The Seshas were Dâkshiṇâtya Brâhmaṇas, and belonged to the Advaita sect. They were at first the inhabitants of the banks of the Godâvarî, but seem to have subsequently changed their residence, and, ever since, to have lived at Benares. They formed a very respectable family, and were called *Bhaṭṭa-bhaṭṭârakas*. Descendants of the family are seen even at the present time at Benares, and are very much respected, though they are not equal to their ancestors in scholarship. In every meeting or *sabhâ* which they attend, they are offered two *sambhâvanâs* while others receive only one—a mark of great respect and esteem. They are even now called Bhaṭṭa-bhaṭṭas. The exact time of their removal to Benares is uncertain. In a drama entitled *Murârivijayanâṭaka* by Kṛishṇa, it is said that the author is composing it at Benares while his father lived near the Godâvarî.

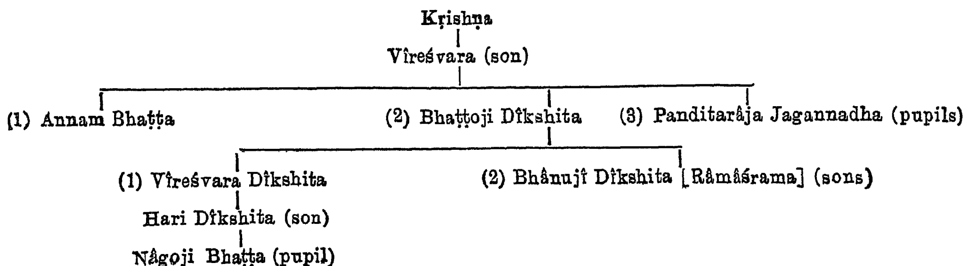
अस्ति किल दाक्षिणात्यस्य गोदारोधोवास्तव्यस्य श्रीमद्विश्वरूपवंशवनमुक्तामणेरधिविद्यानगरसभं विद्वद्वृंदवितीर्णभट्टभट्टारकापरनाम्नो भट्टनृसिंहस्यात्मजः कृष्णभट्टो नाम महान्विद्वत्कविः ।

But **Narasiṁha** says in his *Govindârṇava* that he is composing it at the orders of king Govindachandra of Tâṇḍava. We may, therefore, conclude that Narasiṁha was first living near the Godâvarî, and subsequently removed to Benares. The Seshas might have removed to Benares in the first half of the 16th century, since Narasiṁha belongs to that period, and they have remained permanently there ever since. Probably it is from their residence at Benares that there arose a school of grammar called the Benares School of Sanskrit Grammar.

III.

The genealogical table given at the end requires a few words of explanation. It is based upon facts contained in the works of the members of the family itself. I had traced the line as far back as **Râmachandra**, when from a work entitled *Govindârṇava* by Narasiṁha, I gathered another name, **Vishṇu**, who was not the immediate predecessor of Râmachandra, but was some generations removed from him. This Vishṇu must have been a very distinguished

[4] The following table will make the statement clearer:



personage, as he had attained proficiency in and wrote treatises on all the *Śâstras*. The most important of his works is an elaborate commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya:*

दृष्ट्वा शेषविशेषशेषविविधप्रख्यातिसख्यस्पृशं
यं श्रीमानधिशिश्रिये स्वयमहो विष्णुः पुराणः पुमान् ।
यत्प्रोक्ता किल शेषभाषितमहाभाष्याब्धिपोतायिता
व्याख्या का चिदुदंचितोचिततया जागर्त्ति लोकत्रये ॥
यस्यान्यानि निबंधनानि बहुशो न्याये ऽथ वैशेषिके
मीमांसायुगले श्रुतिस्मृतिपथे ब्रह्मार्कसिद्धांतयोः ।
नित्यं जैमिनिगौतमात्रिकणभुग्गर्गादिनामावलीं
यत्पर्यायतया दिशंति विदुषां श्रोत्रे प्रविश्य स्फुटम् ॥

Vishṇu seems to have been a specialist in the science of *Vyâkaraṇa:*

फणिभाषितभाष्यस्य तत्त्वं [v. l. सारं] वेत्ति सरस्वती ।
शेषो वा शेषविष्णुर्वा नान्योऽस्ति धरणीतले ॥

This verse is quoted by **Sesha Govinda** in his commentary on *Sarvasiddhânta-saṁgraha.* At the same place it is said that some attribute the verse to Kṛishṇa, reading शेषकृष्णो वा in the place of शेषविष्णुर्वा.

Vishṇu, therefore, is the first member of the Śesha family as yet known. He was a great scholar and author, and we do not meet with any other member of it until we descend to Narasiṁha. This Narasiṁha was a great scholar, and composed the *Govindârṇava*, as has been said above. He it was who gained for the family the title of Bhaṭṭa-bhaṭṭârakar even before he removed to Benares. It was conferred upon him by the paṇḍits of the court of the king of Vidyânagara (now identified with Bijapur).

This *Govindârṇava* was a *dharmaśâstra* work. The author says it was composed at the request of **Govindachandra**, of the Śrîvastaka family, king of Tâṇḍava, opposite to modern Benares.

पुरहरपुरतः पुरतः सुरसरितश्चोपतीरमन्तारिता ।
विविधारिभवैः [v. l. अभिभवैः] विभवैरभिरामा राजते नगरी ॥
सुरसरिदुपकण्ठे नीलकण्ठो यदीयं
त्रिभुवनकमनीयं वीक्ष्य रम्यत्वमत्र ।
अधृत सुकृतसारे ताण्डवं तेन नाम्ना
प्रमितिरिह पृथिव्यामास्ति ताण्डेति यस्य ॥

There is, however, a difficulty as to the authorship of the *Govindârṇava*. In the introductory verses, it is stated that Narasiṁha was the author. But Kṛishṇa, in his *Śûdrâchâraśiromaṇi*, claims *Govindârṇava* as his own larger work on law: अत्र अपरो विशेषो गोविंदार्णवे ऽस्मत्कृते द्रष्टव्यः । Mr. S. K. Belwalkar, late Assistant Professor of the Deccan College, Poona, says that "if the statement in *Śûdrâchâraśiromaṇi* is of any value, it can only mean (*a*) that Śesha Kṛishṇa, perhaps at the request of his father, completed the work left incomplete by Narasiṁha, whatever be the cause that prevented him from completing it himself, (*b*) Śesha Kṛishṇa may have written a running commentary on the work." In the *Govindârṇava*, Narasiṁha's father is said to be one Râmachandra, and beyond this the work states nothing about him. We cannot therefore say how Râmachandra was related to Vishṇu. He is spoken of as a great scholar in the following verses from *Govindârṇava:*

तत्राभूत्सकलकलाकलापकौतूहलावासः ।
श्रीरामचंद्रविबुधः परममहापुरुषलक्षणोपेतः ॥

. . . . . .

तर्के कर्कशतां वहन्नतितरां भाट्टे तथात्युद्भटो
वेदांतेषु पटुः तथातिनिपुणः सांख्येपि विख्यातधीः ।

अष्टव्याकरणप्रिबंधचतुरः साहित्यरत्नाकरः
क्षोणीमण्डलमण्डनैकतिलकः श्री रामचंद्रो गुरुः ।

We have in the Bodleian Library a commentary on *Naishadha* by one Sesha Râmachandra and a commentary on the 14th canto only of the same work in the Deccan College Library, Poona. But it is said that this Râmachandra was the pupil of Sesha Nârâyaṇa.[5] If this were correct, this Râmachandra must be a different personage from our Râmachandra, and I am unable to trace his connection with the Sesha line given at the beginning.

Narasiṁha had two sons, Kṛishṇa and Chintâmaṇi. Kṛishṇa too was a great scholar—in fact the greatest scholar of the family. He composed a large number of works. Ten of them with short notes on some, are given below:

(1) उपपदमतिङ्सूत्रव्याख्यानम् ।

(2) कंसवधम् (Printed in the *Kâvyamâlâ*, No. 6.)

(3) पदचंद्रिका — On the authority of H. T. Colebrooke, it is said, in the catalogue of the India Office Library, that this is a Sanskrit grammar—"chiefly based on the *Sârasvata-prakriyâ*." But the extract from the work given at the same place clearly shows that it is based on Pâṇini only. Moreover, the phrases एतावपाणिनीयम् and तदपाणिनीयम् on folios 29 and 33 respectively of the M.S., and the rejection of some forms as अपप्रयोग because they are in contradiction to the *Bhâshya*, support the above statement that it is based on Paṇini.

(4) पारिजातापहरणचंपूः (Printed in the *Kâvyamâlâ*, No. 14).

(5) प्रक्रियाप्रकाशः । A commentary on *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*.

(6) प्राकृतचंद्रिका—This is a grammar of the Jaina Prâkrit dialects in metre. The dialect Prâkirta, the first of the six dialects, is termed Ârsha in this work, and it does not treat of Apabhraṁśa as it is an unimportant dialect:

तत्रार्षं मागधी शौरसेनी पैशाचिकी तथा ।
चूलिकापैशाचिकं चापभ्रंशश्चेति षड्विधम् ॥

and at the end of the work we have अपभ्रंशस्तु यो भेदः षष्ठः सोऽत्र न लक्ष्यते ।

(7) मुरारिविजयनाटकम् ।

(8) यङ्लुगंतशिरोमणिः— This is a commentary on the *Yaṅluganta* portion of *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*, as is evident from the following *pratîkas*.—इत्यत आह—अचि प्रत्यय इति । ननुच्छंदसीत्य-स्येति बुद्ध्याह— चकारादिति । There is not much difference between this work and the portion of *Prakriyâ-prakâśa* by the same, treating of the same subject. Only the latter is more concise. The author here and there criticises *Prasâda*, the commentary on *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*.

(9) शब्दालंकारः—An extensive work on grammar of which *Prakriyâ-prakâśa* is an abridgment, as is evident from the following verse of the latter work:

वह्नौ सुवर्णमिव यत्परिशोध्य शब्दालंकारनामनि मया निहितं निबंधे ।
उद्धृत्य सारमिदमीयमिहोपबद्धं सिद्धांतशुद्धिविभुत्सुजनानुरोधात् ॥

(10) शूद्राचारशिरोमणिः—The authorship of this work is still open to question.

(11) स्फोटतत्त्वम्—It treats of the philosophy of grammar in 22 verses with the author's gloss thereon.

शब्दब्रह्मचिदानन्दमधिष्ठानमुपास्महे । यस्य वर्णाः पदं वाक्यं विवर्ताः संचकासति ॥
महाभाष्यमतं भर्तृहरिणापि प्रकाशितम् । आलोच्य सर्वतंत्राणि स्फोटतत्त्वं निरूप्यते ॥

[5] *Vide Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, page 306 *b*. The name of the commentary is given as *Bhâvadyotanikâ*

The work ends as follows:

प्राक्तुत [प्राक्तंव] सूक्तिमुक्तानां माला कृष्णवि.निर्मिता। विदुषामाद्विषां कण्ठे भासतामसतामपि॥
क्रियाकारकभावेन यत्सर्वत्रानुभूयते। स प्रत्यगात्मा जयति शब्दब्रह्ममयं महः॥
शब्दब्रह्माभिधानं श्रीमद्भाष्यकारस्य संमतम्। श्रीकृष्णशेषविदुषा स्फोटतत्त्वं निरूपितम्॥
विद्वद्भिः सदसद्व्यक्तिकारिभिः सारहारिभिः। रागविद्वेषरहितैर्दूषितं वाऽस्तु भूषितम्॥

The various authors to whom he refers in his gloss show his extensive reading in Sanskrit literature. The author quotes शारीरकभाष्ये शंकराचार्यः under verse 4; द्वितियटीकायां वाचस्पतिमिश्राः भट्टपादैः under verse 6; मीमांसावार्त्तिककारमिश्राः, न्यायटीकाकारमिश्राः under stanza 7; प्रभाकारमते, under stanza 8; भर्तृहरिः under verse 13; आलंकारिका ध्वनिकारादयः under verse 14; न्यायसूत्रं under verse 17; लीलावतीकार under verse 18; भट्टवार्त्तिककार, वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः तत्त्वबिंदौ, द्वितीयटीकायां वाचस्पतिमिश्राः, आगम under stanza 19.

Some more works, such as उषापरिणयचंपू, सत्यभामापरिणयनाटक, and सत्यभामाविलास have been given in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* as having been composed by Śesha Kṛishṇa on the authority of Dr. Oppert, but one cannot be sure about these works till one sees them or gets extracts therefrom.

Kṛishṇa had a pupil named **Jayantabhaṭṭa**, son of Madhusûdana, a native of Prakâśâpurî on the river Tapti. He composed only one work, from which I quote the following few verses, relating to his history:

श्रीकृष्णपंडितवचोंऽम्बुधिमंथनोत्थं सारं निपीय फणिसंमतयुक्तिमिष्टाम्।
अर्थ्यामविस्तरयुतां कुरुते जयंतः सत्कौमुदीविवृतिमुत्तमसंमदाय॥
भूपीठे तपतीतटी विजयते तत्र प्रकाशापुरी तत्र श्रीमधुसूदनो विरुरुचे विद्वद्विभूषामणिः।
तज्जेनेन्द्रसुताभिधेन[6] विदुषमालोच्य सर्वं मतं तत्त्वे संकलिते समाप्तिमगमत्सांधिस्थिता व्याकृतिः॥

कृष्णशेषवचोंऽम्भोधिः दुःप्रवेशो ऽल्पबुद्धिभिः।
इति मत्वा तदुत्सस्तु तत्कृते संप्रसारितः॥
कृष्णशेषवचोंऽभोधेस्तत्त्वचंद्रः प्रकाशितः।
प्रकाशाभूजयंतेन काश्यां चाकाशयतां चिरम्॥

Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Tattvachandra*, from which the above verses are taken, is a commentary on the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*. It is an abridgment of *Prakriyâ-kaumudî-ṭîkâ* called *Prakriyâ-prakâśa* by Śesha Kṛishṇa, his *guru*.

Kṛishṇa had a brother, Chintâmaṇi. But it is curious that they never mention each other in their works, though if Chintâmaṇi were the elder, there is some justification for their not mentioning each other. We cannot on that score definitely say which was the elder. Chintâmaṇi does not seem to be as great a scholar as his brother. Had it not been for Chintâmaṇi's own work, it would have been impossible to know that Narasiṁha had two sons. Chintâmaṇi was the author of *Rasamañjarî-parimala* and many other works mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

Kṛishṇa again had two sons—**Vîreśvara** and **Nârâyaṇa**. These two members of the family were also persons of extraordinary talents. Nârâyaṇa wrote a commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* called *Sûkti ratnâkara*. This is a very rare work. Even where copies of it are found, it is incomplete in the beginning. The only known copy that has the beginning is in my Ârsha Library and so I give an extract from the work at the end of this paper.

Of the two brothers, Vîreśvara was the elder. He does not seem to have composed any works. Probably all his time had been spent in giving instruction to his pupils **Perubhaṭṭa**[7] and Peru-

[6] तज्जेन मधुसूदनजेन इंद्रसुताभिधेन जयंतनाम्ना। It is unnecessarily corrected into तत्पुत्रेण जयंतकेन॥
[7] *Vide* commentary on *Rasagaṅgâdhara*.

bhaṭṭa's sons **Paṇḍitarâja Jagannâtha, Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita** and **Annaṁbhaṭṭa** who make up for the deficiency of their teacher in literary composition. But some are of opinion that Paṇḍitarâja Jagannâtha says that Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshit was a pupil of Kṛishṇa. He does not, however, clearly say so. His words are : श्रीकृष्णपंडितानां चिरंणार्चितयोः पादुकयोः प्रसादादासादितशब्दानुशासनाः । Here the word पादुका betrays the truth. It is usual to call a pupil his *guru's pâdukâ*, and since Vîreśvara was also his father's pupil, Paṇḍitarâja Jagannâtha used the term for Kṛishṇa's son, Vîreśvara. Moreover, the present writer is of opinion that the fact of Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita's naming his son Vîreśvara (evidently after his teacher) goes strongly in support of his view.

Vîreśvara's name is given as *Viśveśvara* in South Indian manuscripts, but it can be easily asserted that Vîreśvara is the correct name for the following reasons. Paṇḍitarâja Jagannâtha, who was his pupil, says in his *Manoramâ-kucha-mardana* अस्मद्गुरुवीरेश्वराणां तनयैः. Further it has already been pointed out that Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita, to show his gratitude to his *guru*, named his son after him, and we know full well that Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshitâ's son's name was Vîreśvara Dîkshita only. He seems to have been called Viśveśvara in Southern India by mistake. On this point Mr. S. K. Belwallar, who has kindly supplied me with information on certain points, and to whom, therefore, my thanks are due, concurs with me, and says " Viśveśvara, to my mind, appears an emendation for which some scribe or other is alone responsil le."

It seems that Vîreśvara alone of the two brothers had sons. They are **Purushottama** and **Chakrapâṇi.** Purushottama does not appear to be an author. At least, I have not met with any one of his works. His brother Chakrapâṇi wrote a work *Paramata-khaṇḍana* in answer to Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita's *Manoramâ*, in which he also criticised the latter work.[8] He wrote another work called *Kârakatattva*. Chakrapâṇi refers in many places to " my *Prakriyâ-pradîpa*." But that work is not now forthcoming.

Chakrapâṇi had a son **Gopînâtha,** who had a son named **Râma.** This last was the author of *Dharmânubandhiślokavyâkhyâna*, in which he says :

श्रीकृष्णं प्रणिपत्य तत्सुतमथो वीरेश्वरं तत्सुतं
श्रीविद्वत्पुरुषोत्तमं तदनुजं श्रीचक्रपाणिं ततः ।
गोपीनाथगुरुं च कृष्णचरितंश्लोकार्थसंदीपनं
कुर्वे रामपदाभिधो भवतु तच्छ्रीविश्वनाथार्पणम ॥

IV.

Now, as regards the time when they flourished, we have not sufficient evidence, and it is really unfortunate that whenever we wish to deal with the dates of the poets of our land we have to confess the want of external evidence. In such cases, we have to rely entirely on internal evidence and probability. Narasiṁha in his *Govindârṇava* says that he composed that work at the orders of **Govindachandra,** king of Tâṇḍava.

तं शेषामलवंशभूषणमणिं गोविंदचंद्रः स्वयं

. . . . . .

गोविंदार्णवनामके व्यरचयत् धर्मप्रबंधं शुभम् ॥

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[8] In his commentary on *Amarakośa*, Bhânuji Dîkshit says that he wrote a work called *Manoramâmaṇḍana* and defended his father against Chakrapâṇi.

अशेषविदुषामेष संतोषाय विशेषतः।
करोति तदनुज्ञातो नृसिंहः सन्निबंधनम् ॥[9]

And Krishṇa says in his *Padachandrikâ* that he is composing it at the orders of king **Narottama** (brother of Govindachandra):

आपूर्वापरवारिराशिवसुधासाम्राज्यदीक्षागुरोः
आदेशेन नरोत्तमक्षितिपतेः श्रीशेषकृष्णेनतुना ।

So it appears that they were the *protégées* of the kings of Tâṇḍava at that time. But unfortunately we can neither identify the town at present, nor can we give the dates of the kings. We, therefore, have recourse to another method of determining their date. Krishṇa was a contemporary of **Giridhara**,[10] son of Râjâ Toḍarmal, the financial minister of Akbar the Great. Râjâ Toḍarmal died in 1586. So his son must have lived in the last quarter of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. Krishṇa thus flourished at the beginning of the 17th century.

In his *Prakriyâ-prakâśa*, Krishṇa gives the genealogy of the kings of Antarvedi[11] (the portion of the land lying between the two rivers, the Jamna and the Ganges) for five generations, the last being **Kalyâṇa**. At the orders of the last mentioned, the author says, he composed this work. The capital of Antarvedi is given as Patrabhunjâ. Again Krishṇa, in his *Śûdrâchâraśiromaṇi*, says that he composed this work at the request of **Pilâjî**. Nârâyâṇa tells us that he composed his commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* at the request of **Phirinda** (see the extract given below). The Sesha family, therefore, seems to have been patronised by different people at different times. But we are strangely ignorant as to the dates of any one of these patrons. Further research may throw greater light upon the Sesha family.

V.

While hunting for information about this family, I came across the following works by persons bearing the surname Sesha. But I have not been able to trace any connection between these authors and the renowned family treated of in the above pages. All these works are commentaries on the originals of other authors. They are:

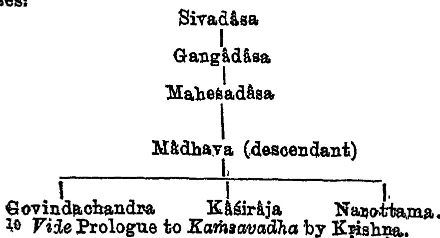
1. A commentary on *Gîta-Govinda* by Sesha **Kamalâkara**, son of Menganâtha.
2. —— by Sesha **Ratnâkara.**
3. A commentary on *Padârtha-chandrikâ* (called *Saptapadârthî*) by Sesha **Ananta.**
4. A commentary on *Nyâya-siddhânta-dîpa-prabhâ* by the same.
5. A commentary on *Amaru-śataka* by Sesha **Râmakrishṇa.**
6. A commentary on *Sarva-siddhânta-saṁgraha* by Sesha **Govinda.**
7. *Jyotishabhâshya* by the same.
8. *Agnishṭoma-prayoga* by the same.
9. Commentary on *Saptapadârthî* (called *Padârtha-chandrikâ*) by Sesha **Sârṅgadhara.**
10. Commentary on *Lakshaṇâvali* (called *Nyâyamuktâvali*) by the same.
11. *Srauta-sarvasva*
12. *Nântasaṁgraha*
13. *Bodhâyanîya-Agnishṭoma-prayoga*

(11–13) by Sesha **Nârâyaṇa**, son of Sesha Vâsudeva, and grandson of Sesha **Ananta.**

14. *Laghunyâyasudhâ* by Sesha **Paṇḍita.**
15. Commentary on *Veḍâṅgajyotisha* by Sesha **Nâga.**

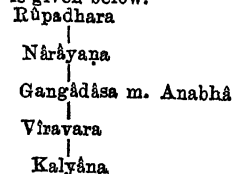
Mahâmahopâdhyâya Pandit Haraprasâd Sâstri, on the authority of T. H. Colebrooke, says in the preface to his Nepal Catalogue, that the author of the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî* was of the Sesha

[9] The following genealogy is given in the previous verses:



[10] *Vide* Prologue to *Kaṁsavadha* by Krishṇa.

[11] The genealogy is given below:



family. Colebrooke got the information from a **Biresvara Sesha**, reputed to be a descendant of the author of *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*, who stated his own genealogy as follows:

"Râmachandra paṇḍita, Nrisiṁha paṇḍita, Nârâyaṇa paṇḍita, Chakrapâṇi paṇḍita, Bîreśwara paṇḍita, Sambhu paṇḍita, Gopâla paṇḍita, and the Bîreswara paṇḍita himself." But I cannot hold this to be authentic information.

VI.

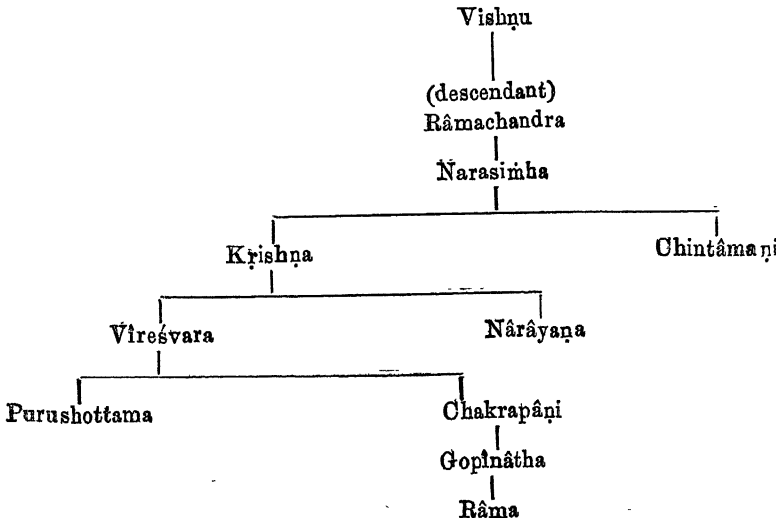
Extract from *Sûktiratnâkara* of Sesha Nârâyaṇa:

अवलंबे गजवदनं पूजितमिंद्रादिभिर्देवैः ।
इष्टविघातकदुरितध्वंसाद्यभीष्टफलसंपत्त्यै ॥ २ ॥
नमद्गंडपालिं भ्रमद्भृंगमालोल्ललच्चारुगुंजारवाकर्णितेन ।
प्रजातप्रमोदप्रघूर्णत्त्रिनेत्रां नुमश्चंडमुंडादिहंत्रीम् ॥ ३ ॥

. . . . . .

संसारसारं करुणावतारं लीलाविहारं भुवनैकहारम् ।
अपारपारं कलिनिर्विकारं जगद्गुरुं कृष्णमहं भजामि ॥ ४ ॥
भाष्येऽशेषविशेषनिर्णयकृती श्रीशेष एवापरः
तद्व्याख्यासुलसत्सहस्रवदनः संप्रेक्षितः पंडितैः ।
अष्टव्याकरणावगाहनकृतश्रीकृष्णकौतूहल-
ग्रंथः श्रीपदचंद्रिकाविवरणं वर्वर्ति यचाधुना ॥ ५ ॥
यः शब्दाभरणं निबंधमकरोत्सत्प्रक्रियाकौमुदी-
टीकां प्राकृतचंद्रिकां च कृतवान् विश्वोपकारक्षमाम् ।
सोऽयं पंडितमंडनं समभवत् श्रीकृष्ण एवापरः
कृष्णः शेषनृसिंहसूरितनयः षड्दर्शनानां खनिः ॥ ६ ॥
तत्सूनुर्भुवनैकभूषणमणिः विद्यावदातप्रधः
संभूतः कलिकालकल्मषहरो वीरेश्वरः पंडितः ।
जातः सर्वकलानिधिस्तदनुजः कामादिषड्वर्गजित्
श्रौतस्मार्तविविक्तधर्मनिरतः श्रीशेषनारायणः ॥ ७ ॥
आपूर्वाचलपश्चिमाचलबुधश्रेणीगणानां जयात्
श्रीमत्पंडितसार्वभौमपदवीं आरूढवान् यः स्वयम् ।
श्रुत्वा तं निजपंडितैः सविनयं टीकां प्रकर्तुं महा-
भाष्यस्याशुतरां व्यजिज्ञपदयं श्रीमान् फिरिंदो नृपः ॥ ८ ॥

Genealogy of the Seshas.



CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HINDU MUSIC.

BY RAO SAHIB PRABHAKAR R. BHANDARKAR, B.A., L.M.&S.; INDORE.

(*Continued from p. 195.*)

The 'grâmas.'

IN the *Bh.* only two *grâmas* are mentioned, *viz.*, the *shadja* and the *madhyama*.[55] The *gândhâragrâma* came into existence and fell into disuse before Śârṅgadeva, who says that it is described by Nârada (a writer on music) and that it prevails in heaven and not on this earth.[56] This *grâma* is mentioned in the *Pañchatantra* in the well-known verse सप्त स्वरास्त्रयो ग्रामा मूर्छनास्त्वेकविंशतिः । This work was translated into Pahlavi in the reign of the Persian king Chosru Nushirvan (A. D. 531-579). If the verse belonged to the original work and was not introduced at the time of a later recasting, the *gândhâragrâma* must be considered as having received recognition before the sixth century A. D. It may also be pointed out that the above verse quoted from the *Pañchatantra* occurs in the *Nâradî-Sikshâ* I. ii. 4, which, though it be not the original work of Nârada mentioned by Śârṅgadeva, is evidently based upon it.

Though the *Bh.* does not define a *grâma*, it plainly indicates that the seven notes in particular relations constitute a *grâma*. The octave being divided into 22 equal intervals, called *śrutis*, the relations of the different notes in the two *grâmas* is as follows:

Shadjagrâma —	*sa*		*ri*		*ga*		*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		[*sa*]
		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*		4*ś*		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*	
Madhyamagrâma —	*sa*		*ri*		*ga*		*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		[*sa*]
		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*		3*ś*		4*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*	
Or more accurately,	*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		*sa*		*ri*		*ga*		[*ma*]
		3*ś*		4*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*	

For, as the type of the *shadjagrâma* begins with *sa*, so the type of the *madhyamagrâma* begins with *ma*. This is evident both from the order in which the different notes in the two *grâmas* are mentioned,[57] and also from the 'first' *mûrchhanâ* in each. The *Saṅgîta-pârijâta* also says that *ma* is the note produced by the open string in the *madhyamagrâma*,[58] though the evidence of this work in matters not personally known to the author is usually of but little value and ought not to be accepted in the absence of corroboration from other sources.

The following are the values of the notes in cents in the two *grâmas*:

Shadjagrâma —	*sa*	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*
Cents	0	164	273	491	709	873	982	1200
Madhyamagrâma —	*ma*	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*
Cents	0	164	382	491	709	873	982	1200

Before we proceed to discuss these scales further, it is absolutely necessary to know which of these notes was taken as the keynote. All modern writers on ancient Hindu music have committed the error of supposing the *shadja* to have been the keynote of the scale, being misled by the present day

55 *Bh.* p. 423, *śloka* 110, is likely to make the reader think that in this one place at least the *gândhâragrâma* is referred to; but the word *gândhâre* in that verse is a misreading, as is shown by a comparison with other manuscripts. G. reads कारर्वीचैव कर्तव्या साधारण समाश्रयाः, which is evidently a mistake for कामारर्वीच कर्तव्या साधारणसमाश्रया ; A. reads कर्मारवींच कर्तव्या साधारितवशाश्रया ।

56 *S. R.* p 43, *śloka* 5.

57 *Bh.* p. 304, *ślokas* 28-29. It may be noted, however, that these *ślokas* occur only in the Ms. G., and not in A., which, as a rule, is more reliable, nor in the Deccan College Mss.

58 *S. P.* p. 9, *śloka* 101.

usage. But it is easy to see that no note but the *madhyana* could have been the keynote in the days of the *Bh*. For, if we examine the hexatonic and pentatonic *jâtis* or modes, we shall find that they are produced by the omission of one or two notes respectively from the complete scale ; and all notes are in turn thus omitted *except the madhyama*. "The omission of all notes [in turn] is allowed in the *jâtis* (modes), but the *madhyama* should never be omitted. For, in the ordinance of music and also in the *sâmans* the *madhyama* is said to be the chief of all notes and non-omissible."[59] But it is just possible that this may only be a repetition of an old rule which had really fallen into desuetude for we meet with such instances in Sanskrit works on music, as will be seen hereafter. We may also consider it possible that though the *madhyama* might have been the keynote in the *madhyama-grâma*, the *shadja* might have been the keynote of the *shadjagrâma*. But on a careful examination of the *jâtis* we find that even in the *shadjagrâma* the *shadja* is at times omitted to obtain the hexatonic and pentatonic varieties. It is thus certain that the *madhyama*, which is in no case omitted, must have been the keynote of both *grâmas*, exactly as at the present time the *shadja*, which is omitted from none of the *râgas*, is the keynote of the scale in use. This fact of primary importance being once grasped, we can proceed to discuss the two *grâmas* in succession.

For the sake of comparison with modern scales, which are made to begin with the keynote, let the *shadjagrâma* be re-arranged with its keynote, the *madhyama*, as the lowest, and we have the *shadjagrâma* commencing with its keynote.

Table I.

	ma	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*
Cents	0	218	382	491	709	873	982	1200

It becomes immediately evident that this scale is practically the same as

	c	d	e_1	f	g	a_1	$b\flat$	c'
Ratios	0	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{16}{9}$	2
Cents	0	204	386	498	702	884	996	1200

which is the European major mode with the exception of the leading note b_1, instead of which we have $b\flat$.[60] The differences between the corresponding notes are 14, 4, 7, 7, 11, and 14 cents, the greatest being 14 cents or two-thirds of a comma, affecting the second note, which is sharper by this amount in the classical Hindu scale. But the fifth is sharp only by 7 cents or one-third of a comma, the fourth is flat by the same amount, and the major third is flat by 4 cents or one-fifth of a comma nearly. Criticising this scale Mr. Bosanquet says[61] :—'The system of 22 possesses, then, remarkable properties ; it has both fifths and thirds considerably better than any other cyclical system having so low a number of notes. The only objection, as far as the concords go, to its practical employment for our own purposes, lies in the fifths ; these lie just beyond the limit of what is tolerable in the case of instruments with continuous tones. (The mean tone system is regarded as the extreme limit ; this has fifths $\frac{1}{4}$ of a comma flat). For the purposes of the Hindus where no stress is laid on the harmony, the system is already so perfect that improvement could hardly be expected.' He then proceeds to point out the deviations of other intervals, some of which, as noticed above, are large. But it is incorrect to look upon the 22-*śrutis* system as exactly representing the Hindu scale. The European scale is described as consisting of twelve

59 *Bh* p. 310, *ślokas* 72-73. सर्वस्वराणां नाशस्तु विहितस्त्वथ जातिषु। न मध्यमस्य नांशस्तु कर्तव्यो हि कदाचन॥७२॥ सर्वस्वराणां प्रवरो ह्यनाशी चैव मध्यमः। गान्धर्वकल्पेऽभिहितः सामस्वपि च मध्यमः ॥ ७३ ॥ The last half *śloka* is the reading of the Deccan College Ms.

60 For the notation used *Vide Helmholtz's Sensations of Tone*, Engl. Transl., 2nd edn.

61 *On the Hindu division of the Octave* (Proc. of the R. S. of London), reprinted in Râjâ S. M. Tagore's *Hindu Music from Various Authors*, 2nd edition.

semitones to the octave, with the intervals of 2, 2, 1, 2, 2, 2, 1 semitones between its successive notes. A scale constructed according to these data would be

	c	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*a*	*b*	*c′*
Cents	0	200	400	500	700	900	1100	1200

Here the fourths and fifths are more accurate than those in the 22-*śrutis* scale, but all other intervals show the same or greater deviations than are found in that scale.[62] But on that account we do not say that in the European scale the major thirds are wrong by $\frac{2}{3}$-comma, etc. The only legitimate remark that can be made would be that the *expression* of the European scale in terms of twelve semitones as given above, is not an accurate one. Similarly, it is quite as probable that the *expression* of the Hindu scale in terms of 22-*śrutis* is only an approximation.[63] The question then arises—"Do we possess any indications which will enable us to make an accurate determination of the Hindu scale, of which the cycle of 22 *śrutis* might simply be an approximate expression?" To which the reply is, "Yes, for some notes at least."

In the *Bh.* we are told what notes are consonant or *saṁvâdins.* 'Two notes with an interval of nine or thirteen *śrutis* between them are consonant with each other. Thus, in the *shaḍja-grâma*, (1) *shaḍja* and *pañchama*, (2) *ṛishabha* and *dhaivata*, (3) *gândhâra* and *nishâda*, (4) *shaḍja* and *madhyama*. So also in the *madhyamagrâma* with the exception of *shaḍja* and *pañchama*. Here [in the *madhyamagrâma*] there is consonance of *pañchama* and *ṛishabha*.'[64] This at once enables us to write the exact values of all the notes except two, since it is evident that the interval of nine *śrutis* represents the just Fourth, and that of thirteen the just Fifth Thus we have

		4*ś*		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*		3*ś*		2*ś*		4*ś*	
A	Notes	*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		*sa*		*ri*		*ga*	*ma*
	Ratios	1		$\frac{9}{8}$				$\frac{4}{3}$		$\frac{3}{2}$				$\frac{16}{9}$	2
	Cents	0		204				498		702				996	1200

Only two notes remain, *viz.*, *dha* and *ri*. They are mutually consonant, but neither of them being consonant with a note of known value their own values cannot be determined by this method. But before considering any suggestions as to their probable values, it is necessary to note the difference between the exact values thus obtained of the various intervals, and those calculated from the cycle of 22, which was brought into existence in order to express them.

Intervals.	Exact value in cents.	Defective expression of the value by the cycle of 22.
Major tone of 4 *śrutis* ...	204	218
Minor Third of 5 *śrutis*...	294	273
Just Fourth of 9 *śrutis* ...	498	491
Just Fifth of 13 *śrutis* ...	702	709

62 This is the well-known equal temperament scale of Europe, and though in extensive use, is not the ideal just scale.

63 Indeed, this ought to be evident *a priori*. Thus, for instance, a note and its fifth or a note and its octave are the actualities presented to us first, and afterwards comes the idea of measuring and comparing them. Now, it is easy to see that we may be in possession of two definite magnitudes, but for various reasons may not be able to express one exactly in terms of the other. The intervals of an octave and a fifth are examples in point. Hence the various cycles proposed, such as those of 12 and 22. It would be putting the cart before the horse to treat the semitone or the *śruti* as the primary notion and to seek to establish the fifth of a note by going up 7 semitones or 13 *śrutis*.

64 *Bh.* p. 303. The *S. R.* means the same thing when it says 'that those notes, in the interval between which there are twelve or eight *śrutis*, are consonant with each other.' But this mode of expression is objectionable for the same reason that it is objectionable to say that between the 1st and 14th of January intervene twelve days, and between the 1st and the 10th eight.

The interval of 8 *śrutis* is of no value for our present purpose, being simply composed of two intervals of 4 *śrutis*. Similarly other available intervals being only defects of these intervals from the octave of 22 *śrutis*, need no separate consideration. From the above table it will be seen that the system of 22 *śrutis* is capable of introducing an error of as many as 21 cents or nearly a comma in an attempt to *express* by means of it an interval, the value of which is known beyond all doubt by the method of consonances. We can now proceed to discuss some values for the undetermined notes, which offer themselves for consideration, remembering that a deviation to the extent of about a comma need not by itself stamp them as improbable:—

(1) The first value we shall consider will be that suggested by Mr. Hipkins, who holds that the 3 *śrutis* interval must be taken as a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone. We have seen that on the 22-*śrutis* scale the calculated value of the 4-*śrutis* interval is 218 cents but that the real value was 204 cents. A $\frac{3}{4}$ tone, therefore, must be equal to 153 cents, an interval known to be used in the East. But the substitution of this value leaves 141 cents as the value of the 2-*śrutis* interval between *dha* and *ni*, or between *ri* and *ga*, and it is impossible to believe that the two intervals of 153 and 141 cents, differing from each other only by 12 cents, should have been expressed by 3 and 2 *śrutis* respectively. We cannot, therefore, look upon the 3-*śrutis* interval as a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone. The same fact may be put in another light. The two intervals of 153 and 141 cents are so nearly equal that each of them may be looked upon as equal to 3-*śrutis*, and it will be found that the whole scale can then be more accurately expressed by means of the cycle of 24 than by means of one of 22, thus :

Notes	*ma*	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*	
The scale to be expressed ...	0	204	357	498	702	855	996	1200	cents
(intervals)		4*ś*	3*ś*	2*ś*	4*ś*	3*ś*	2*ś*	4*ś*	
Values expressed by means of cycle of 22 *śrutis* ...	0	218	382	491	709	873	982	1200	cents
(intervals)		4*ś*	3*ś*	3*ś*	4*ś*	3*ś*	3*ś*	4*ś*	
Values expressed by means of cycle of 24 *śrutis* ..	0	200	350	500	700	850	1000	1200	cents

A glance at this table shows the greater accuracy of expression obtainable by means of 24-*śrutis* scale, if the 3-*śrutis* interval were intended to be a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone as Mr. Hipkins supposes. But since the Hindus fixed upon 22-*śrutis* only, it is evident that they did not intend the 3-*śrutis* interval to be a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone.

(2) Secondly, we shall consider the value of the 3-*śrutis* interval calculated on the basis of 22-*śrutis* to the octave, which is 164 cents. In the first place let it be noted that if this value has a claim on our consideration, that claim is shared to an equal extent by the value assignable to *dha* by a calculation on the same basis, *viz.*, that of 7-*śrutis*=382 cents, and this we shall proceed to do in the next paragraph. In the meanwhile if we take 164 cents as the value of the 3-*śrutis* interval, the value of the neighbouring 2-*śrutis* interval becomes 130 cents, and the same objection presents itself as before, *viz.*, the improbability of taking the two intervals of 164 cents and 130 cents for a 3-*śrutis* and a 2-*śrutis* interval respectively.

(3) Lastly, let us consider the value of *dha* obtained by calculating on the same basis as in the last paragraph, which is 382 cents. This gives very remarkable results. The 3-*śrutis* and 2-*śrutis* intervals have now the values of 178 cents and 116 cents respectively, which are almost exactly in the ratio of 3 : 2. An additional argument for accepting this value is the consideration that the Hindus in choosing the cycle of 22 were more likely to have aimed at securing a greater accuracy in the expression of the relations of the fourth, the fifth and the thirds than that of smaller intervals like the seconds. It will be noticed that this value of the major Third, *viz.*, 382 cents, differs only by 4 cents from the value of the just major Third which is 386 cents, and there is nothing against the supposition that probably this was the actual value of that interval; the

small difference being due to the unavoidable defect of the system of 22-*śrutis*, selected for expressing the relations of the notes in the scale. This defect is shared by all systems, and it can be diminished only by admitting a greater number of degrees.

Finally an express statement in the *S. P.*[65] gives a death-blow to the $\frac{3}{4}$-tone notion, and indirectly supports the value which we must assign to the 3-*śrutis* interval as a consequence of the value we have found for the 7-*śrutis* interval. With 386 cents for the latter, we have 182 cents (a minor tone) for the former, whereas the $\frac{3}{4}$-tone is only about 150 cents. From the data given in the *S. P.* for the division of a string the ratio of the 3-*śrutis* interval between *sa* and *ri* is $\frac{9}{8}$ or 204 cents (a major tone), and of that between *pa* and *dha* is $\frac{8}{7}$ or 231 cents. Even allowing for the errors inevitable in determinations of the values of notes by the division of a string in a fretted instrument like the Hindu *bīn*, it is evident that a minor tone may be confounded with a major tone, but it is not easy to believe that a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone can thus be confounded. On the other hand it would be quite legitimate to bring forward the objection that originally the 3-*śrutis* interval might have had a different value from that which it came to have in the days of the *S. P.*; but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

Inserting the value we have found for the 7-*śrutis* interval in the Table A, we have the complete scale as follows :

B									
			4ś	3ś	2ś	4ś	3ś	2ś	4ś
		ma	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*
	Ratios	1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{16}{9}$	2
	Cents	0	204	386	498	702	884	996	1200

From what has been said above it will be evident that the values of all notes given in this table are perfectly certain, except those of *dha* and *ri* which may be looked upon as *almost* certain.

It is now necessary to notice the following remarks of Mr. A. J. Hipkins : " The Indian scale intervals ought to be understood as they are explained by native writers—namely, as a tone, a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone, and a $\frac{1}{2}$-tone, composed of 4, 3, and 2 *śrutis* respectively. With this conception of intervals, and it must be borne in mind the $\frac{3}{4}$-tone is still approved of in the East, a division of the octave into 24 equal quarter-tones becomes impossible. For as it was essential to secure an approximately perfect fourth with 9 *śrutis*, and a fifth with 13, the division of the octave by 22 was the only one available. The error in the fourth of 9 equal *śrutis* of a 22 division is no more than $\frac{1}{3}$-comma, in melody scarcely noticeable, but the error in a 21 or in a 23 division could not have been easily tolerated."[66] At the outset, in this connection let me ask the reader to recall what I have said above, about the system of 22 *śrutis* being called into requisition to *express* the relations of the notes in an already existing scale and the inherent inability of all systems to *express accurately* the so-called natural scale unless the octave is subdivided into a very large number of degrees. But this is not all. Mr. Hipkins is actually in error when he supposes that Hindu writers explain the intervals of their scale as being ' a tone, a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone, and a $\frac{1}{2}$-tone.' Hindu writers have never said this ; they only say that there are three sorts of intervals, consisting of 4, 3 and 2 *śrutis* respectively—in other words in the ratio 4 : 3 : 2. This is very different from what is understood by European writers by ' a tone, a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone, and a $\frac{1}{2}$-tone.' Consider the intervals 200, 150, and 100 cents. European writers will call them a tone, a $\frac{3}{4}$-tone, and a $\frac{1}{2}$-tone respectively, which is correct. But now take the well-known intervals 204, 182, and 112 cents, or a major tone, a minor tone, and a diatonic semitone. These they will forthwith describe as a tone, a tone,

[65] See below.

[66] Capt. Day's *The Music of Southern India*, pp. 20-21.

and a semitone respectively, which is only an approximation and not accurate, for, the exact ratios are 1·8214 . . . : 1·625 : 1, and not 2 : 2 : 1. The approximation may be justified thus : 1·8214 . . . is nearly 2 ; and 1·8214 : 1·625 = 1·1225 : 1, *i. e.*, 1 : 1 nearly. But there is another way also of looking at these ratios : 1·8214 : 1 = 2 : 1 approximately, as before ; but 1·625 : 1 = 1·5 : 1, more nearly than 2 : 1 ; in other words, the three intervals are in the ratio 4 : 3 : 2 approximately. It is this approximation which has been used by Sanskrit writers. It will be seen that the two approximations agree as regards the ratio between a major tone and a semitone ; and if the European approximation is more accurate as regards the ratio of a major to a minor tone, the Hindu approximation has the advantage of greater accuracy in the ratio of a minor tone to a semitone. The latter possesses the further advantage of indiciting that there are three kinds of intervals, whereas the former reduces these to only two. It was probably owing to this European custom of calling the major tone, the minor tone, and the diatonic semitone by the terms a tone, a tone, and a semitone that Mr. Hipkins overlooked the possibility of the Hindu approximation being quite as good, if not better, for the purpose of expressing the actual ratios, and was led to misinterpret the intervals of the Hindu scale.

Having thus determined the values of the intervals in the Hindu scale, it will be interesting to consider now the converse problem of what cycles can possibly be employed to express the same. The conditions of the problem evidently are:

(1) There must be three kinds of intervals.

(2) The octave to consist of three intervals of the greatest magnitude and two of each of the others.

(3) Integers only to be used in expressing the intervals.

It is easily seen that no cycle of less than 15 degrees can satisfy all these conditions. The cycle of 53 with the three intervals in the ratio of 9 : 8 : 5 can express the scale with remarkable accuracy. If we now examine all possible cycles consisting of 15 to 53 degrees, which satisfy these conditions, only the following ones make an approach to the scale for which we wish to find an expression :

Table C.

Degrees in the cycle.	Ratios of the three intervals.	Degrees in the Major Third.	Cents in the Major Third.	Degrees in the Fifth.	Cents in the Fifth.
22	4 : 3 : 2	7	382	13	709
29	5 : 4 : 3	9	372	17	704
32	6 : 4 : 3	10	375	19	712·5
34	6 : 5 : 3	11	388	20	706
41	7 : 6 : 4	13	380·5	24	702
46	8 : 7 : 4	15	391	27	704
53	9 : 8 : 5	17	385	31	702
Scale under consideration	1·8214 . : 1·625 : 1	...	386	...	702

Thus the cycle of 22 is the smallest that can be used for expressing the given scale ; that of 29 gives the fifth more accurately, but the third is much worse ; that of 32 is decidedly worse ; the rest are all better, that of 53 being the best. We thus see that *assuming* the value of the scale, which we have found from other consideration, to be correct, it could not have been better expressed than by means of a cycle of 22, unless the ancient Hindu writers had resorted to 34 degrees or more. This consideration, therefore, gives further indirect support to the value we have assigned to the scale. Why cycles of 34 degrees or more were not used so as to secure a greater accuracy will be discussed presently ; but we must first consider an apparently formidable objection. In the section "On the *svaras* and *śrutis*" it has been mentioned that, according to Bharata, in order to convert the *shadjagrâma* into the *madhyamagrâma*, the *pañchama* must be lowered.

by a *śruti* so as to make it consonant with the *ṛishabha*. But according to the values which we have come to assign to the different notes (see Table B), the necessary lowering amounts to only a comma or 22 cents, which is less than even half of the average value of a *śruti*, which is $54\frac{6}{11}$ cents. It is not this discrepancy, however, which is the difficulty in our way, as it is really of no importance. For, it is easy to see (and the reader may convince himself of it by actual trial) that it must necessarily occur in *all* cycles, whenever it is sought in this manner to find the value of one *particular* degree, unless indeed the cycle chosen is such that the difference between the major and the minor tone is represented by one degree, and that the value of each degree is as nearly as possible 22 cents, consistently with its giving good values for other intervals. Such a cycle is that of 53 in the Table C above. Why this cycle was not adopted by the Hindus to express their scale, if the latter was really the same as that I have arrived at from other considerations, will be discussed further on. It is sufficient for my present purpose to make the reader understand that the fact of the difference between the major and minor tones being only 22 cents (*i. e.*, very much less than the average value of a *śruti*) in no way goes against the value we have come to assign to the Hindu scale. Indeed, we can even go further and say that whoever might have originated the cycle of 22 to represent the Hindu scale, Bharata and Mataṅga were misled into straining it in an unjustifiable way, when they said that the amount of flattening necessary to make the *pañchama* of the *shaḍjagrâma* consonant with the *ṛishabha* was the measure of a *śruti*. It will be seen that this error is quite natural, since with the adoption of the cycle of 22 we are forced to represent the major tone by 4 and the minor tone with 3, and the just Fourth and Fifth with 9 and 13 respectively. Now in the *shaḍjagrâma* the *pañchama* is not consonant with the *ṛishabha* and the interval between the two is expressed by 10 or 12 according to the direction in which you measure. In order to make it consonant (as in the *madhyamagrâma*), it must be flattened by a certain amount; but no sooner this is done the interval must be expressed by 9 or 13 (according to the direction in which you measure), since those are the numbers by which we must denote the intervals of consonance in the cycle of 22. In other words, you are obliged to *say* that the *pañchama* has been flattened by one unit, however much the necessary amount of flattening may actually differ from the average value of that unit. This apparently correct but really erroneous statement then can in no way go against the value we have come to assign to the Classical Hindu Scale. But the same cannot be said of the experiment described in the *Bh.* in connection with the exposition of the *śrutis* (see the section "On the *svaras* and *śrutis*" above). In this experiment, it will be remembered, we have, at starting, two *vîṇâs* in unison tuned to the *shaḍjagrâma*. The tuning of one of them is subsequently changed to the *madhyamagrâma* by lowering the *pañchama* by the requisite amount, which with our present values for the notes of the scale will only be a comma or 22 cents. The remaining strings are now lowered so as to have the *shaḍjagrâma* tuning once more. Supposing this can be accurately done, every string of this *vîṇâ* ought to give a note lower by a comma than the note of the corresponding string of the other. Performing this double operation once more, the difference in notes of corresponding strings will be two commas or 44 cents only, and the *gândhâra* and *nishâda* strings of the changing *vîṇâ* cannot possibly give notes in unison with the *ṛishabha* and *dhaivata* of the other. But Bharata says that they do; and there will be the same discrepancy in the rest of the experiment. Now if we believe that this experiment was actually performed by some musician with the stated result, we are forced to give up the values we have assigned to the notes in the Hindu scale and to admit those found by actual calculation on the supposition that the 22-*śrutis* cycle represented the scale *exactly* (see Table I). But this necessarily leads to the consequence that we must admit that the Hindu year was so peculiar that when it declared two notes to be consonant they were not so according to our present notions, but that the just Fourth was

consistently flatter by 7 cents and the just Fifth as *consistently* sharper by the same amount. When we further note that the values of the Fourth and the Fifth as given in the *S. P.* are exact, we must make the additional admission that this peculiarity of the Hindu ear had disappeared by the time that that work was written. I think this to be beyond belief, and consider that when the Hindu musicians declared that there was consonance between two notes it was exact consonance as given in the *S. P.* and as understood at present. The necessary result of this view is that we must look upon the experiment in question as only a paper or imaginary experiment, based on the excusable error pointed out above, *viz.*, that the amount of flattening necessary to make the *pañchama* consonant with the *ṛishabha* was taken to be really equal to one *śruti*, whereas it was so only in name, one being forced to call it a *śruti* owing to the exigencies of the cycle adopted, *viz.*, that of 22. In confirmation of the imaginary nature of the experiment I may draw the attention of the reader to the fact that in the *Bh.* we are asked to take two *vîṇâs* tuned to the same *mûrchhanâ* and having strings and *daṇḍa* (the wooden bar proceeding from the body) of the same dimensions. It is easy to see that a real experimenter ought to perceive that it is not essential to have the strings and *daṇḍa* of the same dimensions. Further, since there are only seven strings in the *vîṇâ*, the tuning of which is kept fixed, a real experimenter would have discovered that as he proceeded with the successive lowerings of the strings of the other *vîṇâ*, there would be no strings in the fixed *vîṇâ* with which some of the lowered strings could be in unison. As an illustration, suppose that the two *vîṇâs* were tuned to the first *mûrchhanâ*, *viz.*, *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha ni*, and the procedure of lowering the second *vîṇâ* by a *śruti* was repeated four times, then the *ma* and *pa* strings of this *vîṇâ* would be in unison with the *ga* and *ma* strings of the fixed *vîṇâ*; but the *sa* string of the second *vîṇâ* could not be in unison with the *ni* string of the first, as stated in the *Bh.*, the latter being an octave higher. A real experimenter would have certainly noticed this.

Having thus disposed of the only objection of some real importance, we must now try to find out why the Hindu musicians did not employ a cycle like that of 53 so as to be able to give an accurate expression to their scale, if it had the constitution which we have found for it. And the reason is not far to seek, if we keep in mind how the *śruti* interval was determined. Mr. A. J. Hipkins[67] confidently says that 'There can be no doubt about the origin of the *śruti* in the measurement of a stretched string,' but has omitted to give the grounds for his assertion. At first sight this assertion does look plausible. For, if we divide a stretched string into two, and subdivide one of the halves into two again and continue the subdivision in this manner, we shall come in due course to the fraction $\frac{1}{32}$; and if the string be damped at this distance from the nut the remaining portion of the string $= \frac{31}{32}$ ought *theoretically* to give a note which is 55 cents higher than that of the whole string; and 55 cents is almost exactly one *śruti* ($= 54\frac{6}{11}$ cents). But if the experiment be *actually* performed, it would be found that the result is far from accurate. It is improbable, therefore, that the *śruti* interval was arrived at by the measurement of a stretched string. There are other considerations also which go against this notion. In the *Bh.*, which mentions the *śrutis*, there is no reference to the production of higher notes by stopping a string. The Hindu *vîṇâ* in its oldest form had no finger-board which occurs only in more recent forms, and the frets were added at a still later period. Even in the *S.R.*, though fretted instruments were in existence at the time, the 22 *śrutis* are demonstrated not by means of subdivision of a string, but by means of a *śrutivîṇâ* with 22 strings, each having a pitch slightly higher than that

[67] Capt. Day's *The Music of Southern India*, Introduction, p. xi.

of the preceding one so that the fourth gave the *shaḍja* note and the last the *nishâda*.[68] From all this it is clear that the *śruti* interval could not have had its origin in the measurement of a stretched string. But even supposing that the value of the interval was thus fixed by subdividing a string into 32 parts, for obtaining the value of 2 *śrutis* we must take 31 of these parts and divide this again into 32, and so on for larger intervals, with the result that every such successive operation must increase the error, which unavoidably attends the experiment as noticed above. This makes it more probable that the relative values of the different notes in the scale were actually determined by trial by means of the ear with the help of strings rising in pitch step by step, as conceived, for example, by Śârṅgadeva. This I think may also account for the name *śruti* (*something heard*) given to the unit of measurement which resulted from such a process. Now, since equal rises in pitch have to be determined only by the ear, it is easy to see that the greater the number of degrees in a cycle the smaller is the value of each degree, and consequently the more difficult it is for the ear to appreciate the equality of each step in the pitch. We need not wonder then that the Hindus could not resort to a cycle like that of 53 and had to stop at one of 22, which, by the way, as pointed out above, cannot be excelled by another of less than 34 degrees.

To sum up, the values of notes in the Classical Hindu Scale (the *shaḍjagrâma*) are as follows :

B															
		4ś		3ś		2ś		4ś		8ś		2 ś		4ś	
Notes	*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		*sa*		*ri*		*ga*		*ma*
Ratios	1		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{5}{4}$		$\frac{4}{3}$		$\frac{3}{2}$		$\frac{5}{3}$		$\frac{16}{9}$		2
Cents	0		204		386		498		702		884		996		1200

As previously remarked, the values, given in this table, of all notes except *dha* and *ri* are absolutely certain, and I believe the evidence I have given is sufficiently convincing as regards the correctness of the values of the latter two also.

Now, we arranged the *shaḍjagrâma* thus, with its keynote at the commencement, to enable a comparison to be made with the modern European major scale, from which it differs only in the seventh note being flatter by a chromatic semitone + a comma. The correct way, however, of representing it, is this, *viz.*, with *sa* as the lowest note :

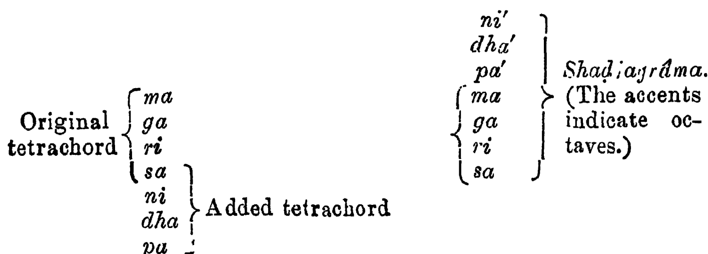
The ' shaḍjagrâma.,

	3ś		2ś		4ś		4ś		3ś		2ś		4ś	
sa		*ri*		*ga*		*ma*		*pa*		*dha*		*ni*		[*sa*]
$\frac{3}{4}$		$\frac{5}{6}$		$\frac{8}{9}$		1		$\frac{9}{8}$		$\frac{5}{4}$		$\frac{4}{3}$		$\frac{3}{2}$

[68] *S. R.* I. iii. 12 *et seq.* The experiment is not as accurately described as one would wish. We are asked to tune the 22 strings each a *little* higher-pitched than the preceding *so that between two successive notes produced by them there should not exist an intermediate note.* These directions are evidently defective, for we *can* have notes of intermediate pitch. Then again, it would have been better to have 23 *strings* with 2 *intervals*, so that at the fourth lowering of the strings it would have been possible to show that the *sa* string of the changeable *vînâ* was in unison with the *ni* string of the fixed *vînâ*. A similar inaccuracy of expression of the author I have noticed above. But the experiment was probably not quite imaginary like that in the *Bh.*, referred to above. At any rate we are not asked to have the strings and *daṇḍa* of the same dimensions but are only required to construct two similar *vînâs*, the similarity consisting in their producing identical sounds—द्वे वीणे सदृशौ कार्ये यथा नादः समो भवेत्. I think Siṁhabhûpâla's explanation of this verse is correct, and Kallinâtha's is not. The latter says सदृशौ सदृशाकारे ; the former सदृशौ समाने ।आकारसाम्यं नात्रोपयुज्यत इत्याह 'यथा नादः समो भवेत्' यथा नादः समान एव भवतीति । Indeed one might almost think that the author had before him the expression तुल्यप्रमाणतन्त्र्युपवादनदण्डमूर्छने of the *Bh.* and wrote यथा नादः समो भवेत् as a correction. In passing, it may be noted that this experiment does not go against the values we have come to assign to the Classical Hindu Scale, remembering that the intervals are to be judged by the ear.

This arrangement at once makes clear why the *ga* of the Classical Hindu Scale differs from, the *ga* of the modern Hindu scale. In the former, the first tetrachord is really a descending one, whereas in the latter it is ascending. It will be noticed presently that in the *Bh.* we are told that if the note *antara ga* (which corresponds to modern *ga*) is to be used, we can do so only in going up the scale.

It will be noticed that the arrangement of the *shadjagrâma* as given above is such as to tempt one to think that it consisted of two disjunct tetrachords; and this is indeed the way in which it came to be looked upon by later writers. But at the time we are speaking of, the octave was not recognised and the *grâmas* consisted only of seven notes.[69] This leads to the conjecture that the original descending tetrachord *ma, ga, ri, sa* was, in the first instance, extended not upwards as *pa, dha, ni, sa,* but downwards as a conjunct tetrachord *sa, ni, dha, pa,* the common note being *sa*; the three new notes *pa, dha, ni* were subsequently transferred (as octaves) above the keynote *ma*, thus producing the heptachord *shadjagrâma.* Some further support is given to this view by the quotation from the *Nâradî-Śikshâ* given above (*ante*, Vol. XLI, p. 162). Indeed the matter would have been beyond all doubt, if in that quotation the *nishâda* had been spoken of as the fifth note and the *dhaivata* as the sixth.



The *madhyamagrâma* seems to have been a later development in the evolution of Hindu music; for, in defining it, the *Bh.* tells us how the *shadjagrâma* must be modified in order to arrive at the former, *viz.*, by flattening the *pañchama* by one *śruti.* In this *grâma* the keynote *ma* was placed at the commencement (see above). We have, therefore,

The 'madhyamagrâma.'

	3*ś*	4*ś*	2*ś*	4*ś*	3*ś*	2*ś*	4*ś*
ma	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*	*ri*	*ga*	[*ma*]
1	$\frac{10}{9}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{16}{9}$	2

The reader will at once notice that this *grâma* is the same as the Seventh of what are known as Ecclesiastical Modes, whereas the *shadjagrâma* is the Eighth and related to it as a plagal to an authentic one. In India, therefore, it would appear that the plagal mode preceded the authentic one in order of time (*Sâman* chants, of which we know but little, being kept out of consideration). The contrary, it is stated, was the case in Europe.

Other Notes in the Bhâratîya-nâṭya-śâstra.

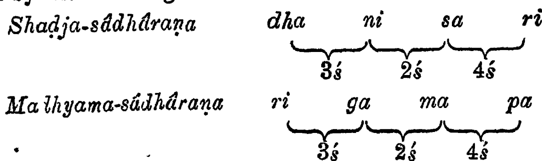
Besides the seven notes discussed above, the *Bh.* recognises four more, under the name *svara-sâdhâraṇam* ('common note'), which is explained to be an '*antara-svara*' ('an intercalary note'). These are (1) *kâkalî-nishâda,* (2) *antara-gândhâra,* (3) *shadja-sâdhâraṇa,* and (4) *madhyama-sâdhâraṇa.*

The values of *kâkalî-nishâda* and *antara-gândhâra* can be easily fixed from the datum in the *Bh.*, *viz.*, that they are two *śrutis* sharper than *nishâda* and *gândhâra* respectively. The former note makes the intervals between *dha* and *kâkalî ni*, and between *kâkalî ni* and *sa* a major

69 It is for this reason that I have placed the 8th note in brackets.

tone and a diatonic semitone respectively; similarly, the latter makes the interval between *ri* and *antara ga* a major tone, and that between *antara ga* and *ma* a diatonic semitone. These notes, however, were used with great restrictions: (1) They were to be used *only* in going up the scale, and even then in a passing manner without dwelling on them; (2) they were to be used only in the three *jâtis*—*madhyamâ, pañchamî,* and *shadja-madhyâ*—and even then only if the *aṃśa-svara* was *sa, ma* or *pa* in the first and third, and *pa* in the second.

The *shadja-sâdhâraṇa* and *madhyama-sâdhâraṇa* were notes intermediate between *nishâda* and *shadja,* and between *gândhâra* and *madhyama,* respectively; and the difference between them and the corresponding natural notes was so minute that they were designated also by the name *kaiśika* ('hair-like'). Further, the *shadja-sâdhâraṇa* could be employed only in the *shadjagrâma,* and the *madhyama-sâdhâraṇa* in the *madhyamagrâma.* We have no data in the *Bh.* to enable us to determine the values of these. From the *S. R.*, however, we see[70] that according to later writers they were produced by the following relations of notes:



Further, it would seem that though, as in the *Bh.*, *madhyama-sâdhâraṇa* was confined to the *madhyamagrâma,* there was no corresponding restriction on the *shadja-sâdhâraṇa.*

A change had also occurred in the mode of employing *kâkalî-nishâda* and *antara-gândhâra.*[71] Firstly, one could descend thus:

sa kâkalî-ni dha (c B A)
ma antara-gândhâra ri (f e d)

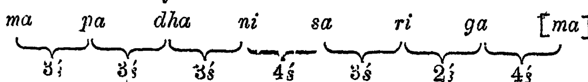
Secondly, one could follow this procedure:

sa kâkalî-ni sa the next higher note available
ma antara-gândhâra ma the next higher note available

By the words 'the next higher note available' is to be understood, 'the next higher note, making allowance for such notes as are required to be omitted in the particular mode to be played or sung.' It will be observed that though the second procedure may be looked upon as in accordance with the teaching of the *Bh.*, the first goes directly against it. It is impossible for us to find out when and how the change came about, as no works on music in the period between the *Bh.* and the *S. R.* are extant. The author of the *S. R.* himself, it must be noted, is not writing from his own knowledge, but on the authority of the writers who preceded him, and whose works were then available. The ancient music had already passed away in the time of Śârṅgadeva, the author of the *S. R.*

The 'grâmas' according to later writers.

The structure of the two *grâmas* as given in the *S. R.*, which is a compilation made from previous works, is exactly as given in the *Bh.*[72] But in the *S. P.*, which is a work of a much later period (see above) and when the old distinction of the *grâmas* had been completely forgotten,[73] though there is agreement in the structure of the *shadjagrâma,* that assigned to the *madhyama-grâma* is as follows with *ma* for keynote:



[70] *S. R.* p. 64, *ślokas* 7 and 8.

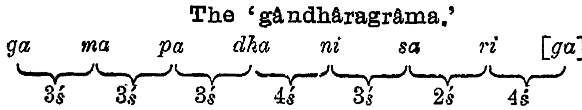
[71] *S. R.* p. 64, *ślokas* 3, 4, 5 and 6.

[72] The reader should note that the arrangement of *śrutis* in the *madhyama* and *gândhâra grâmas,* as drawn up in App. iv of the *S. R.* Anandashrama series, is *not* according to the text. It agrees with that given in the *S. P.*

[73] *S. P. kâṇḍa* i., *śloka* 100.

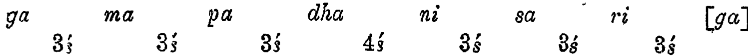
This must be looked upon either as having its origin in the imagination of the author, an occurrence by no means very rare, or as having been quoted from a previous writer, equally imaginative. According to the *S. R.*,[74] however, this was the constitution of the *gândhâragrâma* of Nârada, which had already fallen into desuetude (see above). For, this authority gives the following arrangement of *śrutis* in this *grâma*.

The 'gândhâragrâma.'



Here it would seem that *ga* was the keynote, and in that case it is not very difficult to attach a plausible meaning to the scale. For, on comparing it with the *shaḍjagrâma* it will be observed that it is identical with it except for the fact that the interval between the second and the fourth notes, which amounts to $\frac{6}{5}$ or a minor third, is sought to be equally divided. If this conjecture be correct, it reminds us of a similar division introduced by Zalzal (8th century A. D.) in the Arabic scale and said to be still in use.[75] In India, however, it fell into disuse, which probably gave rise to the myth that 'it was prevalent in heaven (*svarga*) and not on the face of the earth.'[76] It is said to have originated with Nârada, a writer on music, but there is no inherent improbability in its having been borrowed by the Hindus from the Persians and Arabs, like so many other things in music (see below).[77]

The *S. P.* having thus given a constitution for the *madhyamagrâma*, which according to the *S. R* belongs to the *gândhâragrâma*, proceeds to define the *gândhâragrâma* as follows with *ga* for the keynote:



No other Sanskrit treatise on music, available to us, mentions a *grâma* with this structure. If we examine, however, the original *gândhâragrâma* as given in the *S. R.* (which is the same as the *madhyamagrâma* as defined in the *S. P.*), we find that the seventh note is the just Fourth of the fourth note but is not the just Fifth of the third. In the *gândhâragrâma*, according to the *S. P.*, it would appear, the seventh note is made the just Fifth of the third note, sacrificing its relation of the just Fourth to the fourth note, the other relations remaining the same.

(*To be continued.*)

KALIDASA AND THE HUNAS OF THE OXUS VALLEY.

BY PROF. K. B. PATHAK, B.A.; POONA.

KSHÎRASVÂMÎ, the well-known commentator on the *Amarakośa*, who belongs to the second half of the eleventh century,[1] explains *vâhlîka*,[2] meaning saffron, thus:

वह्लीकदेशजं यद्रघोरुत्तरादिग्विजये
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाँल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान्।

In order to enable the reader to understand the view of Kshîrasvâmî, I shall quote the following three well-known verses of Kâlidâsa :

ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम्।
शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ॥
विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वङ्क्षुतीरविचेष्टनैः।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाँल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥
तत्र हूणावरोधानां[3] भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम्।
कपोलपाटनादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥ *Raghuvaṁśa* IV.

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[74] S. *R.* p. 46, *ślokas* 3, 4, and 5.
[75] In the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, however, Zalzal's neutral third was not in favour. (Prof. Land's *Gramme Arabe*).
[76] *S R.* p. 45, *śloka* 5.
[77] If we are to believe, however, that this *grâma* was in existence in India at the time when the *Pañchatantra* was first translated into Pahlavi (see above), the Hindus could not have borrowed it from the Arabs.
[1] He quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Vardhamâna, the author of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*.
[2] Mr. K. G. Oka's Ed. of the *Kshîrasvâmî*, p. 110.
[3] Some manuscripts of Vallabha's commentary read हून.

Kshîrasvâmî tells us that Raghu encountered the Hûṇas in the Vahlîka-deśa, where the saffron plant was cultivated. If this view is accepted, the reading सिन्धुतीर adopted by Mallinâtha, a commentator of the fourteenth century and a native of Southern India, must be abandoned. Before examining the other reading वङ्क्षुतीर, I shall try to settle the date of Vallabha, who gives this latter reading. On the word *âsa* occurring in लावण्य उत्पाद्य इवास यत्नः (*Kumârasambhava* I. 35), Vallabha remarks :

आसेति कवीनां प्रमादजः प्रयोगो भूभावप्रसङ्गात् यत्तु . . . . . तिङन्तप्रतिरूपको निपात इति तदसत् तादृशस्य तिङन्तस्यैव भवनात् ।[4]

These remarks are thus reproduced by Vardhamâna :

वल्लभस्य तु तिङन्तप्रतिरूपको निपात इति न सम्मतम् । तादृशस्यैव तिङन्तस्याभावात् ।

Gaṇaratnamahodadhi I. 13. Benares Edition, p. 16.

Mallinâtha says :

वल्लभस्तु न तिङन्तप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् । अस्तेर्भू इति भ्वादेशनियमात्तादृक्तिङन्तस्यैवाभावात् । किन्तु कवीनामयं प्रामादिकः प्रयोगः इत्याह ।

Vallabha, who is quoted by Vardhamâna, mentions Bihlaṇa in his comments on the last verse of Mâgha's *Kavi-vaṁśa-varṇana* in his *Śiśupâlavadha.* On these grounds we may safely assign Vallabha to the first half of the twelfth century. It is a well-known fact that he was a native of Kâshmîr. These facts invest his opinion with exceptional importance. In the above passage cited from Kâlidâsa, Vallabha reads वङ्क्षु[5] and explains it thus वङ्क्षुर्नाम नदी तस्यास्तीरे.[6] According to Kshîrasvâmî, Vahlîka-deśa or Bactria was the country where Raghu encountered the Hûṇas, and this region was, in Vallabha's opinion, watered by the river Vaṅkû. In the fifteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, verse 89, the towns of Takshaśilâ and Pushkalâvatî are mentioned. The last named town was called by the Greeks Peukelaôtis. In the Greek form of this word the letter *s* is superfluous, and the letter *o* corresponds to the Sanskrit *va.* According to this rule, the Greek word Oxus, the name of the celebrated river, would be वक्षु in Sanskrit; and in Prâkṛit it would be spelt व०क्कू and pronounced वक्कू. The sign for doubling being mistaken for *anusvâra*, the word would be pronounced Vaṅkû. The Sanskrit form Vakshû, with a superfluous nasal, would be pronounced Vaṅkshû. It is thus plain that the Vaṅkû or Vaṅkshû river is the Oxus river. It is interesting to note here that the famous Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang calls this river Pochu or Fochu. This Chinese name is only a phonetic transcription of the Indian form of the name Vakshû or Vakkû. *Va* answers[7] to the Chinese *po* or *fo*, as in Molopo for Mâlava, or in Na-fo-ti-po-ku-lo for Navadevakula, while the Indian *ksha* or *kka* corresponds to the Chinese *ch*, as in Ta-cha-shi-lo for Takshaśilâ or Takkasilâ. Thus the Chinese form of the name of the river Oxus, Pochu or Fochu, presupposes the Indian original Vakshû or Vakkû, mispronounced Vaṅkshû or Vaṅkû.[8]

We have thus seen that in the opinion of Kshîrasvâmî and Vallabha, Kâlidâsa makes Raghu invade the northern country and conquer the Hûṇas, who had already established themselves on the banks of the Oxus in Bactria. General Cunningham[9] says: "According to the Chinese authorities the white Huns first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century" and then gives a list of the Hûṇa kings who ruled on the Oxus. Mr. V. A. Smith, in his *Early History of India*, p. 297, says that the Huns were in the Oxus

[4] Read अभावात् D. C. MS. No. 72 of 1883-84.

[5] Some manuscripts of Vallabha's commentary read वङ्.क्षु.

[6] S. P. Pandit's Ed. of *Raghu*, notes, p. iii.

[7] Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 312-18.

[8] Four D. C. MSS. of *Raghuvaṁśa* and its commentaries read Vaṅkû and two read Vaṅkshû.

[9] Ephthalites or White Huns, *Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists.*

valley between A. D. 455-84. The first invasion of India by the Hûṇas was repelled by Skanda-gupta-Vikramâditya in A. D. 455. From these facts the conclusion is inevitable that Kâlidâsa composed the verses quoted above when the Hûṇas were still in the Oxus valley and shortly before they invaded the Gupta empire in A. D. 455. At this time Kâlidâsa appears to have been very young, as he speaks of his poetical efforts with extreme diffidence and in such depreciating terms as

मन्दः कवियशःप्रार्थी गमिष्याम्युपहास्यताम् । *Raghu* I. 3.

His masterpiece, the immortal Śakuntalâ, must have been a later production of his genius. He was thus contemporary with Vikramâditya II of the Gupta Dynasty. This view rests upon the identification of the Vaṅkû or Vaṅkshû with the Oxus river and upon the fact that the Hûṇas first appeared in the Oxus valley in the beginning of the fifth century.

In the last verse quoted above, Mallinâtha reads कपोलपाटलादेशि and explains पाटलस्य पाटलि-म्नस्ताडनादिकृतारुण्यस्य, alluding to a well-known Indian custom:

रिपुसुन्दरीणां करतलताडनभीतैरिव मुक्ताहारैः पयोधरपरिसरो मुक्तः

Vâsavadattâ, Hall's Ed., p. 42.

On the other hand Vallabha[10] reads कपोलपाटनादेशि and explains कपोलपाटनमाहि(दि)शतीति . . . . पतिवधान्(त्) भार्या रुदन्त्यः क(कुच)कपा(पो)लं नखैर्विदारयंति. Châritravardhana and Sumativijaya adopt this reading, and say हूणयोषितः कुचकपोलविदारणपूर्वं रुदन्तीति तद्देशाचारः.

In Thomas Watters' work on the *Travels of Yuan-Chwang*, describing the social characteristics common to the tribes and districts between China and India, we read:

"They burn their dead and have no fixed period of mourning. They flay (?) the face and cut off the ears." Watters, Vol. I, p. 40

"Among some tribes it apparently was the custom to tear or gash the face at the funeral of a parent or chief." *Idem*, p. 41.

"We find it recorded, moreover, that when the death of T'ang T'ai Tsung was announced, the barbarians sojourning at the capital expressed their sorrow by wailing, cutting off their hair, gashing (?) their faces and cutting their ears, until the blood washed the ground."

Idem, p. 42.

From these extracts it is evident that Kâlidâsa must have written *kapola-pâṭana*, 'to tear and gash the face,' and not *kapola-pâṭala*, the latter reading being substituted by the Southern commentators like Mallinâtha in accordance with Indian notions.

From the two verses discussed above, we learn that Kâlidâsa was contemporary with the Hûṇas of the Oxus valley, who were defeated by Skandagupta-Vikramâditya in A. D. 455 and who killed the Sassanian king Firoz, in A. D. 484, and that it was the custom, among the Hûṇa women, to tear and gash the face at the funeral of their husbands.

In my paper on Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu, I have shown that Dignâga belongs to the latter half of the fifth century. It is thus clear that Kâlidâsa and Dignâga were contemporaries and lived in the time of Vikramâditya II of the Gupta Dynasty. This confirms the tradition preserved by Mallinâtha.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 243.)

Tâola: a bowl for keeping sugar, etc. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Tâola, taula: quickly. Kângra Gloss.

Tap, tapâli: the duct or passage by which water enters a field. Opp. to *paind, q. v.* Kângra Gloss.

Tapri: a small shed or thatched house. Kângra Gloss.

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10 D. C. MS. No. 150 of A. 1882-83.

Târkâ pâni : the upper stratum of water of a *kachcha* well. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 178.

Tarâji : a poll-tax on Chamârs. Kuthâr.

Taras : the sarus crane (*Grus antigone*). Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 12.

Taren : a high stool on which a man stands to winnow corn. Kângra Gloss.

Tarophla : thick or tangled. A word used to describe a division of land by which each party gets a separate share of each field, so that shares are much intermixed. *Pattu vand* and *gâdu vand* mean much the same thing. *Tela vand* means division into large blocks. Kângra Gloss.

Tarota : a hole in the ground or in a bank where water has forced a passage; *darâdh* is also used for same thing. Kângra Gloss.

Tasri : the heads of *jowâr*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 187.

Tât : goat. Bauria *argot*.

Tât : the pods of the gram plant. Jullundur S. R., p. 127.

Tataiṇi = Panji *akh*.

Taṭâni : s.f., a fire-fly.

Tatiâla : a long thong. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 172.

Tatta : fast. Bauria *argot*.

Tatti : it consists of four earthen jars pierced and tied together and hung up by a string in the bride's courtyard, and is struck by the bridegroom with a sword. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 167.

Tehman : a loin-cloth worn by Musalmans, sometimes not passed between the legs, but usually worn in the Hindu fashion (though they preserve their own name for the garment). Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Teinta : a term applied in Kulu and Lâhul to a grassy slope or up land above the cliffs or precipitous hill sides which form the sides of a valley. Kângra Gloss.

Tel talwâi : a present given to the barber's wife for rubbing a lock of the bride's hair with oil. Jullundur S. R., p. 65.

Tela-vand : see *tarophlâ*.

Teli : the man who scutches ginned cotton. Cf. *pumba*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 183.

Telia : an oily kind of water.

Tera tîn : *all any how*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 155.

Thâch : a plain or level space on the top of a hill or in a high valley. Simla.

Tha : to be born. Bauria *argot*. *Ex. Damkera thâhe* = a boy is born.

Thaiya : hide, imperative. Bauria *argot*.

Thaili : the handle of the plough. Cf. *arli*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 99.

Thâk : prohibition (of grazing) : Kângra S. R, Lyall p. 24.

Thâkna : to forbid, stop from. Kângra Gloss.

Thâkuri : a weight = 6 chhitânks. Jubba.

Thâl : a vessel made of pottery, flatter and smaller than the *daggâ* (*q. v.*) with a very wide mouth. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Thali : very sandy soil. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 170.

Thamba : a subdivision of a tribe; a group of villages bound together by common descent. Cf. *thapa*. Karnâl S. R., p. 74.

Thamba : the connecting rod fastened to the beam to which the oxen are fastened in a sugar press. Cf. *mânak*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 161.

Thân : a small mud representation of a temple. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 144.

Thânapatti : a cess; a fee of Rs. 5 paid at each daughter's wedding. Cf. *mudhkhera*. Ferozepore S. R., 1889-91, p. 10.

Thânh : a long log of wood. Simla Hills.

Thand ? : search. Bauria *argot*. Ex. *hapâhi thandolo lewan awe*. The policeman is coming to search the house.

Thaṇḍiâî, *thandiâî*: also *ghi* or any other grease.

Thângeri: a bird. Probably from its feeding on *thângi* or hazel nuts. Pangwâl.

Thapa: a subdivision of a tribe, a group of villages bound together by common descent. Cf. *thamba*. Karnâl S. R., p. 74 and 75.

Thâpa: a bloody mark of a hand, which the bride's mother with her hand dipped in henna leaves on the bridegroom's father's clothes. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 132.

Thâpa: the heap of clean grain. Cf. *râs* and *bohal*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 173.

Thâpa: a flat wooden dubber. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 200.

Thâpa khauncha: a conical basket open at both ends which is suddenly plunged to the bottom of a village pond with its big end downwards, any fish that splashes being taken out through the small end. Karnâl S R., p. 7.

Thâpî: a small block of wood used for breaking clods. Jullundur S. R., p. 108.

Thapun: a secular clergy. Hissar S. R., p. 12.

Thathe: a press. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 105.

Thek: a sheaf of wheat made up for carriage from the field. Kângra Gloss.

Thekma: a petticoat or wrap with red spots. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Thekna: to spot. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Thelu: a block of wood which is fitted into an irrigation channel, so that the water flows evenly over it. The water is then divided into several channels by pegs which fit into the block. Kângra Gloss.

Theni: deposit of an article left in trust with another. Kângra Gloss.

Thihân: these. Bauria *argot*.

Thîka: a chief village. Karnâl S. R., p. 76.

Thilaul: the money given to the bride's mother at a betrothal used in Kilar and Darwâs. Pangi. Called *guâmi* in the Sach Pargana of Pângi. Pangwal.

Thilia: a vessel made of pottery, smaller than the *ghara*, for dipping water. Cf. *gharia* and *dûna*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Thimi: a measure of 8 *sêrs kacha*. Kângra Gloss.

Thimbî: a measure of capacity = one-eighth of a *dharûn*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Thula: a subdivision of a *panna* (ward of a village community). Karnâl S. R., p. 92.

Thuladâr: an assistant headman, not officially recognized. Karnâl S. R., p. 92.

Tiba bangar: the flat tableland on the tops of hills. It requires much rain, but is slightly better than *bhet*. Cf. *panga*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Tikâwal: a necklace of fourteen coins, one a gold mohur and the rest rupees. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Til: a complete suit of female clothes. Cf. *tîwal*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Tila: a wooden stick. Gurdâspur. Cf. *tîlâ*, stalk. *P. Dy.*, p. 1138.

Tilkin: shoes. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 150.

Tilla: an effect of cold which attacks buffaloes only. Cf. *hallu*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 134.

Tînî: s. f., top (of a tree).

Tind: the pod of cotton. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 183.

Tîndar: the earthen vessels tied to the *mâl* of a Persian wheel for raising water. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 160.

Tingra: a fish. It rarely runs large, yet specimens of 5 lbs. or so are sometimes caught by the fishermen. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 17.

Tingra: a fish (*Macrones lamarrii*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Tîngra chhotâ: a fish (*Macrones tengara*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Tînt: the buds of the *kair* tree. Karnâl S. R., p. 11.

Tilla; (1) the peak or point of a hill; (2) the ptarmigan; also called *dhâr chakru.* Kângra Gloss.

Tira: niche. Sirmûr

Tîrath: properly a place of pilgrimage, but used for the place for burning the dead, which is also called *martalî* : in Kulu, *mantori*. Kângra Gloss.

Tirchoka: see under *bij battâr*.

Tiṭainâ: s. m.

Tithun: in that place; *jithun*, in the place which; *othun*, in that place; *kithun*, where. Kângra Gloss.

Ṭiun: still, yet.

Tîwal: a suit of clothes. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 156.

Tîwal: a complete suit of female clothes. Cf. *til*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Toba: a small pond. Cf. *chaprî*. Jullundur S. R., p. 58.

Todar: a bracelet made of a cylindrical bar of metal. Cf. *kangan*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Tokha: a masonry pillar. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 318.

Tokna: a brass pot larger than a *tokni*. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Tokna: a large narrow-mouthed cauldron, made of metal for storing water and cooking at feasts. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Tokni: a brass jar. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 166.

Tokni: a large narrow-mouthed cauldron, made of metal, for storing water and cooking at feasts. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Tokoni: toknî a large brass pot. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Tol: a big boulder. Kângra Gloss.

Tolah: a weighman. Cf. *modi*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 81.

Tondi: spring, *i.e.*, the three warm months before the *barsât* or rains. Kângra Gloss.

Topa: a measure of grain; of rice seven maunds and ten *sêrs kacha*, or of wheat ten maunds *kacha*. Kângra Gloss.

Topî lânî: name of ceremony for widow remarriage in Pângî and Lâhul. Pangwâl Mono. 107.

Tor: sowing the seed by drilling it through a tube into the furrows. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 105.

Tor: the irrigation of land by delivering water above the fields. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 170.

Toran: the wooden frame of a door. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 168.

Tori: then. Bauria *argot*.

Toria: an insignificant oil-seed. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 191.

Tos, tonas: a pine; (*Abies pindrow*). Kângra S. R., p. 21.

Totâ: a cone of *sâthi* (grain parched and ground, eaten with water mixed with it) used at weddings in Pângî (Sach Pargana) and Chamba Lâhul. Pangwâl Mono. 107.

Towât: a he-goat—see under *bakrî*.

Trangari: a small bridge over a rivulet, called *dipî* in Lâhul. Kângra Gloss.

Tren: three. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Trihâna: a tenant who farms land with plough and oxen furnished by the landholder. Cf. *chantequ* and *atholû*. Kângra S. R. Review, p. 8.

Triṇgol: the ibex: in Lâhul and Spiti called *kîn*. Kângra Gloss.

Tooghâr: the great bustard (*Eupodotis edwardsii*). Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 12.

Tujjun, tijjun: to you; you. In Kulû, *tobi*, to you; *tona* or *tusâna*, from you. Kângra Gloss.

Tukri: a Gûjar's blue petticoat, with or without spots. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 124.

Tukkal: a knife used in threshing sugar-cane. Cf. *phatti*. Jullundur S. R., p. 108.

Tulah: testing, or settlement of an account of any kind. Kângra Gloss.

Ṭuli: a grass stalk. Kângra Gloss.

Tûm : gold and silver ornaments. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 157.

Tumbî, tumbṛî : a small cucumber or gourd. *Kumbṛi* is an earthen pot, a small utensil in which *ghi* is generally kept. Simla Hills.

Tûng : balcony. Sirmûr.

Tûnt : a tree (*Morus alba*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Tûs : chaff. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 173.

Tusri : the heads of the great millets. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 173.

Ubâran : the ploughing after the seed of *charrî* has been sown broadcast. Jullundur S. R., p. 124.

Ubatna : a mixture of barley flour. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 165.

Ubha thâi jana : to stand. Bauria *argot*.

Ûd : a heavy wooden roller. Cf. *girri*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 162.

Uddar : an otter. Kângra Gloss.

Udhai : white-ant. Bauria *argot*.

Ugâhi : collection of revenue. Karnâl S. R., p. 110.

Ugâhna : to collect revenue. Karnâl S. R., p. 110.

Ughâr : see *hoghâr*.

Ugilan : the plough in which the boot and the curve of the *hal* are near each other. Jullundur S. R., p. 109.

Ujâla : general withering up from any reason. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 180.

Ujeh : above ; see under *bunh*.

Ûkhal : a mortar made of stone or wood in which grain is ground by a wooden staff called *musal* and its husk separated.

Undra : rat. Baurai *argot*.

Uprâhons : *banjar* land attached to a field. Hissar S. R., p. 25.

Upridâ jânâ : to go up; see under *bunh*.

Ur : see *or*.

Urhur : buckwheat (*Cajanus bicolor*). Cf. *kundi* and *dhingra*.

Urni : sheep. Bauria *argot*.

Urnî : a fish (*Mugil corsula*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Urnû : a lamb under six months of age ; see under *bhed*.

Ût : the man who dies without a son. Cf. *gyâl*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 149.

Ût nâput janâ : to die without a son. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 149.

Utâr : unirrigated land. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Utkarû : (1) fixed rent or assessment, generally used where it is paid partly in kind, partly in cash. *Chakota* is another word for the same thing. Kângra Gloss. (2). a tenant-at-will.

Vadanak : a tall red kind of wheat. Jullundur S. R., p. 125.

Vâhal : the bed of an old drainage channel. Cf. *vâl* and *johal*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 12.

Vâl : the bed of an old drainage channel. Cf. *vâhal* and *johal*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 12.

Vâm : a noose made of *mûnj* rope. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 112.

Vand : an allotment (Nurpur) ; see *bher* : in Barâ Bangâhel = *jeola*. Kângra S. R., (Lyall), p. 32.

Vangat : see *bangat*.

Vikh : twenty. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 124.

Vil : a kind of rheumatism that is rarely fatal ; the animal affected gets stiff and unable to walk. Cf. *vilâya*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 301.

Vilâya : a kind of rheumatism.

Voti : wife = *swâni*, used by Râjputs ; see *lâri*.

Wahna : to-morrow. Bauria *argot*.

Wali : again. Bauria *argot.*

Wâr : the force which pursues the raiders. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 31.

Wârna : the waving of the offerings for the malignant deity over the patient's head. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 146.

Wârpher : a ceremony of marriage performed by waving a pot of water over the bridegroom's head and then drinking a little of it and waving a rupee round his head. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 130.

Watrân : a broadcast sowing ; to sow when the moisture has sufficiently subsided to allow of ploughing and sowing. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 88.

Watri : cotton sown in June or July. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 87.

Wehla : soon ; as *wehla âo* : come soon. Bauria *argot.*

Yâmu (Kulû) : the *sarâo* deer ; see *goâ.*

Zîrî : fine rice. Cf. *dhân.* Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 178.

MISCELLANEA.

ON 'SIVA-BHAGAVATA' IN PATANJALI'S MAHABHASHYA.

MUCH has been written by eminent scholars about the ancient sect of Bhâgavatas. The earliest inscription making use of the word 'Bhâgavata' as an attributive of a follower of a particular sect is that edited by Dr. Fleet in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Oct. 1909, in which Heliodoros, son of Dion, of Takshaśilâ, a *Yonadûta* of king Antialkidas at the court of Trâtâr Râjâ Kâśîputa Bhâgabhadra, is described as a *Bhâgavata.* Evidently he was a Vishṇu-bhâgavata, for the inscription commemorates the erection of a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* to *devadeva Vâsudeva.*

I wish to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that Śiva-bhâgavatas can claim the same antiquity as Vishṇu-bhâgavatas. From the very earliest days there were two sects of Bhâgavatas who believed Bhagavat, conceived either as Vishṇu or Śiva, to be the supreme cause, and *bhakti* or devotion to him as of more importance than ritual or sacrifice.

This inscription mentions Antialkidas Nikephoros who, according to Vincent Smith, was a contemporary with the early years of Eucratides *circa.* 170 B.C. Menander's invasion took place about 150 B.C., only a few years after, and his siege of Sâketa and Majjhamikâ is alluded to by Patañjali in words which leave little doubt that the events took place in the lifetime of the great grammarian.

Now, Patañjali mentions the word *Śiva-bhâgavata* while commenting on Pâṇini V. 2. 76. The passage is as under:

अयः शूल-दण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्-ठञौ ५ । २ । ७६
किं योऽयंःशूलेनान्विच्छति स आयः शूलिकः ?
किं चातः?
शिवभागवते प्राप्नोति।
एवं तर्ह्युत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । अयः शूलमिवायः शूलम् । यो मृदुनोपायेनान्वेष्टव्यानर्थान्रभसेनान्विच्छति स उच्यत आयःशूलिकः ।

An explanation of the context is necessary.

Patañjali takes pains to explain that words formed by Pâṇini V. 2. 72, 75 and 76, are not to be taken in a literal sense, but only in a metaphorical one. Thus *śitaka, ushṇaka* (Pâṇini V. 2. 72) do not mean 'he who does cold,' or 'he who does hot,' for then they might be applied to snow or sun, but they respectively mean 'a person who takes a long time over doing a thing which has to be done soon,' and 'a person who does a thing betimes.' Similarly, *pârśvaka* (Pâṇini V. 2. 75.) does not mean 'he who seeks his ends by the side, for then it might mean 'a king's servant' but it is taken to mean 'one who proceeds to perform in a roundabout way things which can be performed in a straightforward manner.' We now come to Pâṇini V. 2. 76, from which we get the word *Âyahśûlika.* Patañjali asks if this word is to be taken in the literal sense of one 'who goes about, or seeks his ends with an iron dart'? On this he asks, what would then happen? The reply is that then the word would apply to a *Śiva-bhâgavata.* Evidently, the members of that fraternity must then have been in the habit of going about, or seeking their ends, with an iron *śûla* in hand. Finally Patañjali says that the word is not to be taken in the literal sense, and, therefore, cannot apply to a *Śiva-bhâgavata*, but it is taken to apply to express one who has recourse to extreme or harsh or rash measures to seek an end which can be secured by milder methods.

Patañjali's denial that the word does not apply to *Śiva-bhâgavatas* is a proof of the existence of the class in those days. They must have used an iron spear as a distinctive mark like modern *Jogis* who carry an iron trident. Śiva's weapon is *śûla* or *triśûla*, whence his epithet *Śûlî.*

CHANDRADHAR GULERI.

Ajmer.

THE RAMACHARITAMANASA AND THE RAMAYANA.

BY L. P. TESSITORI; UDINE (ITALY).

[THE present paper on the connection between Tulasî Dâsa's *Râmacharitamânasa* and Vâlmîki's *Râmâyaṇa* was first published in Italian in the *Giornale della Societá Asiatica Italiana* (Vol. XXIV, 1911), and is now republished in English at the kind suggestion of Sir G. Grierson and Sir R. C. Temple. The subject is indeed a most interesting one, as it involves a question which has remained *sub judice* up to the present day.

Many different opinions have been advanced as to the principal source from which Tulasî Dâsa derived his *Râmacharitamânasa*, but they have all been mere conjectures, rather than inductions from a sufficient quantity of positive evidence, and, being also very unlikely, have only helped to make the question more intricate instead of solving it. The two extremes have been represented: (*a*) by the scholars who, being not directly acquainted with the *Râmacharitamânasa*, have almost necessarily tended towards conceiving it as a poor and close *rifacimento* of the *Râmâyaṇa*, bearing no stamp of originality; and (*b*) by the scholars who, being more or less acquainted with the *Râmacharitamânasa*, have allowed themselves to be misled by its outward appearance and by the different meaning of the facts in it, and have arrived at the conclusion that Tulasî Dâsa had availed himself of other sources and was not at all or very little indebted to his great predecessor. It is important to determine the right course between the two exaggerations and to give the *Râmâyaṇa* its proper place amongst the sources of the *Râmacharitamânasa*.

The solution of the problem can be reached only by freeing ourselves from any preconception, or misleading influence of general impressions, and confining ourselves to the impartial-examination of positive facts. It is chiefly a work of patience. The Hindî poem must first be compared verse for verse with the *Râmâyaṇa*, with the object of ascertaining all points of agreement with the Sanskrit text. Then, by placing agreements and disagreements in the same scale, it must be ascertained whether the former outweigh the latter to such a degree as to permit us to classify the *Râmâyaṇa* as the principal source of the *Râmacharitamânasa*. The way is however, made arduous by the fact that Tulasî Dâsa does not confine himself to only one recension of the *Râmâyaṇa*. This makes it necessary to carry on the same inquiries into both the principal recensions, and ascertain in which places of the *Râmacharitamânasa* either of the two prevails. Another difficulty is that of distinguishing between real and apparent discordances, *i. e.*, between particulars derived from sources different from the *Râmâyaṇa* and particulars derived from the *Râmâyaṇa* itself, but modified either because of their incompatibility with the religious principles of the new poem, or for some other reason. The reader will judge whether the present study covers all the above points and proves sufficiently that Tulasî Dâsa availed himself of the *Râmâyaṇa* as a principal source for the particulars of Râma's life, but at the same time strove with all his power to keep as clear as possible of Vâlmîki's art, so that on the whole the *Râmâyaṇa* can only be called his source of information, never his artistic model.

Of course, the fact of having taken into consideration only the *Râmâyaṇa* gives the above conclusions a temporary character. We know Tulasî Dâsa availed himself also of the *Adhyâtmarâmâyaṇa*, a mystic *rifacimento* of the *Râmâyaṇa*, which is included in the *Brahmâṇḍapurâṇa*. When inquiries are brought to bear on this source, too,—a task which the author of this article may possibly carry out in the near future—then only can the priority of the *Râmâyaṇa* amongst the sources of the *Râmacharitamânasa* be definitely established. But on the whole, even if some

restriction is still to be made on the priority herein assigned to the *Râmâyaṇa*, our general conclusions are absolutely definite and the present article will always retain its value as a collection of the best proofs in favor of Tulasî Dâsa's having largely and directly utilized Vâlmîki's poem.[1]—L. P. T.]

Nânâpurâṇanigamâgamasammataṃ yad Râmâyaṇe nigaditaṃ kvacid anyato 'pi |
svântaḥsukhâya Tulasî Raghunâthagâthâbhâshânibandham atimañjulam âtanoti || 7 || [2]

In the above stanza in the Sanskrit introduction to the *Râmacharitamânasa* Tulasî Dâsa himself informs his readers of the sources from which he has drawn. In fact he does here avow most explicitly that he has derived from the *Râmâyaṇa*, and partly also from other works, all the matter that was conformable to the *Purâṇas* and to the Holy Scriptures. Leaving aside for the present the question how far the words *kvacid anyato 'pi* should be extended, the fact remains that in the above passage Tulasî Dâsa himself does quote the poem of Vâlmîki as his chief source, and does declare clearly that he has drawn from it the bulk of that material which he has brought into harmony with his own spiritual ideas and clothed in a pleasant form of poetry. Such is after all the meaning hidden in that testimony, which on the other hand gives us but superfluous information, for every diligent reader of the *Râmacharitamânasa* would reach for himself the same conclusion. Tulasî Dâsa has followed the path formerly trodden by Vâlmîki, placing his feet upon the very footmarks left by his great predecessor.

If looked upon superficially, such an assertion will no doubt strike one as the absurdest paradox. A bottomless abyss lies between the two poems: in each one breathes a different air, sees different people living in a world quite apart; the impressions which each makes on the mind of its readers are so unlike that one cannot see at a glance anything but a fancied dependence of the one upon the other. But one must not ignore that objective facts, not æsthetic impressions, are the best criterion for settling any question regarding the dependence of any one work upon another; and it is in the light of that positive criterion that our assertion is to be viewed. The fact is that, as far as Râma's life is concerned, the thread of the narrative is mainly one and the

[1] At the moment of revising the proofs of the present article, I am kindly informed by Sir G. Grierson that Bhalbhadra Prasâd Sukul of Ballia, U. P. and three other *paṇḍits* are publishing an edition of Tulasî Dâsa's *Râmacharitamânasa*, together with another poem of the same title in Sanskrit *ślokas*, which bears such an exact correspondence to it, that it must necessarily be concluded that one is a translation of the other. Sir G. Grierson has seen the *Araṇya°* and *Sundarakâṇḍa* of this edition, and has found that both the versions are practically line for line the same. The editors consider the Sanskrit version to be the original one, basing their opinion on what Tulasî Dâsa himself says in the introduction to the Hindî poem concerning the origin of the story, and particularly on the passage, in which he states that he heard the story from his *guru*, but owing to his being but a child, he could not understand it, and only afterwards, when he understood it better, he put it down in *bhâshâ*:

maiṁ puni nija guru sana sunî kathâ su Sûkara-kheta |
samujhi ṅahîṁ tasu bâlapana taba ati raheuṁ aceta || . . . .
tadapi kahî guru bârahiṁ bârâ | samujhi parî kachu mati-anusârâ |
bhâkhâ-baddha karabi maiṁ soî | more mana prabodha jehi hoî || (I, 30-31)

The editors promise a full account of the Sanskrit MS. in the preface to the *Bâlakâṇḍa*. "Till then—writes Sir G. Grierson—we must wait in patience." That one version is a translation of the other is perfectly certain, but which is the original it is impossible, at present, to say. The impression conveyed to my mind is that it is the Sanskrit version that is the translation, as it is not so *compact* as Tulasî Dâsa. The author has to fill up his *ślokas* with unnecessary words to make them agree with the Hindî. But, on the other hand, it may be argued that Tulasî Dâsa took a Sanskrit original and improved it by condensing it. In the latter case, it is this Sanskrit *Râmacharitamânasa* that we ought necessarily to consider as the first, and perhaps the only, source of the Hindî poem. But, even so, our general conclusion that Tulasî Dâsa's poem is chiefly based upon the *Râmâyaṇa* would by no means be impaired. The only difference would be that the correspondence of the former to the latter ought to be explained simply as a consequence of Tulasî Dâsa's having translated a work that was chiefly based upon Vâlmîki, not as having been intentionally brought about by Tulasî Dâsa himself.

[2] The present and all following quotations from the *Râmacharitamânasa* are taken from the edition of the काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, प्रयाग, १९०३.

same in both the poems: Tulasî Dâsa derives from Vâlmîki all the particulars of the story, shortens or amplifies them as he likes, explains them according to his creed, clothes them in a new fashion, but hardly ever alters their objectiveness, their succession, their historical value. One might be induced to think Tulasî Dâsa firmly believes in the historical trustworthiness of the *Râmâyaṇa* and therefore makes it a point not to mistake the truth, at least so far as that truth does not strike too openly at his ethical and religious ideas. This is why Tulasî Dâsa retains some particulars, which were quite in accordance with the reduntant epical style in Vâlmîki's poem, but seem mere, and even strange, superfluities amidst the habitual conciseness of the *Râmacharitamânasa*. This is why Tulasî Dâsa always applies the greatest attention to giving *unicuique suum*; *i.e.*, to attributing every action or speech, however insignificant it may be, to the very persons whom Vâlmîki has represented as authors thereof. This is why Tulasî Dâsa always makes it a point never to alter the succession of events[3] and goes so far in his scruples that he never fails to replace by a short allusion any episode or important passage of the *Râmâyaṇa*, to which he could not give room in his poem.

This general rule of fidelity to his source finds its greatest exception in Tulasî Dâsa's sixth book[4], where the succession of the facts is wholly subverted, the particulars of one combat are often mistaken for those of another, and the deeds of one champion are attributed to another; but in this case the exception does not weaken the rule and can be easily explained, if we only suppose that Tulasî Dâsa could not always find his way amidst the bewildering intricacy of Vâlmîki's *Yuddhakâṇḍa* and often lost himself in the labyrinth of events,—which supposition is greatly corroborated by our own practical experience of the difficulty of thoroughly mastering by heart the subject of this most intricate book, though nowadays the scholar can reckon upon handier editions and greater helps, than were available to the mediæval poet.[5]

But, leaving aside the *Laṅkâkâṇḍa* and the few other divergencies from Vâlmîki, which are interspersed in the other books of the *Râmacharitamânasa* and not always without a reason, the fact remains of Tulasî Dâsa's strict fidelity to the historical and chronological data in the narrative of the Sanskrit *Râmâyaṇa*; a fidelity of such a nature that, were there no other testimony, it would perhaps be sufficient to show that Tulasî Dâsa, whilst writing, always

[3] This rule admits of a few exceptions, which are mainly found in the *Bâla°* and *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa*. I quote the three which are the most striking in the above two books :—

(i). Tulasî Dâsa places Râma Jâmadagnya's episode immediately after the breaking of the bow and consequently before Daçaratha's arrival at Mithilâ. [Vâlmîki represents it as taking place during Daçaratha's and Râma's return to Ayodhyâ];

(ii). Tulasî Dâsa makes Viçvâmitra start from Mithilâ along with Daçaratha and sojourn in Ayodhyâ for many days. It is in Ayodhyâ that Viçvâmitra's story is related by Vasishṭha and Vâmadeva. [Vâlmîki makes Viçvâmitra start from Mithilâ before Daçaratha and has his story told in Mithilâ itself by Çatânanda];

(iii). Tulasî Dâsa makes Guha cross the Gaṅgâ along with the three exiles and accompany them one or two stages further. [Vâlmîki makes Râma dismiss Guha and Sumantra before crossing the Gaṅgâ].

It is most likely that alterations in the order of succession, like the above, crept into the *R.C.M.* from some of the other sources, which were utilized by Tulasî Dâsa. But that is not perhaps the case with all alterations of that kind. Take the following example: In the *R.C.M.* Lakshmaṇa hears of Râma's banishment only as late as II, 70, 1-2, namely after the permission given Sîtâ to follow her husband into the exile. Now it is simply absurd that Lakshmaṇa, Râma's inseparable companion, should have heard the news later than the citizens, whose grief had been described by Tulasî Dâsa long before. It is obvious that Tulasî Dâsa, in his overdrawn laconism had quite forgotten to make any mention of Lakshmaṇa at the proper place, and had to repair his omission when he had to relate how Râma, after giving Sîtâ his consent, gave it to Lakshmaṇa too.

[4] The first half of the *Bâla°* and nearly the whole of the *Uttarakâṇḍa*, as they have no correspondent in the *Râmâyaṇa*, but are a mere addition to Râma's life, are of course beyond the scope of the present article.

[5] Possibly the change in the title of the book from *Yuddha°* to *Laṅkâkâṇḍa* was not without its reason.

kept this source at hand and referred to it whenever his memory was failing him.[6] Any diligent reader, who is patient enough to compare stanza for stanza the two poems, will easily be able to trace back the whole path trodden by Tulasî Dâsa through the forest of Vâlmîki's *Râmâyaṇa* and to get a clear idea of his way of proceeding. To prove my assertion let me quote the three following passages of the *Râmacharitamânasa*, in which Tulasî Dâsa, for accuracy's sake, retains some particulars found in Vâlmîki's poem, which, though they have their sufficient reason in the Sanskrit original, are not justifiable in the Hindî version, and look strange, or at least superfluous:—

1. In Book II, 10, Tulasî Dâsa, after having told us that Vasishṭha, in obedience to Daçaratha's orders, went to Râma's house, in order to make him devote himself to the holy practices preliminary to consecration, adds that, having given his instructions to Râma, Vasishṭha *returned to the king* (*guru sikha dei râya pahiṁ gayaû* |, II, 10, 4a). This particular, whilst corresponding exactly with Vâlmîki's narrative (C^7, II, 5,21 and following), looks quite superfluous in our poem, and is not in accordance with Tulasî Dâsa's continuous effort towards being as concise as possible.

2. In Book IV, 27, Tulasî Dâsa relates that the monkeys, having failed to get tidings of Sîtâ, do not dare to return to Sugrîva, but sit down on beds of *kuça* spread on the shore of the Ocean (*baiṭhe kapi saba darbha ḍasâî* ||, IV, 27, 10b). It is obvious that Tulasî Dâsa has here in mind the *prâyopaveçana* described by Vâlmîki in the 55th *sarga* (*C* and B^7) of the 4th Book, and, as he cannot afford himself to relate it fully and does not wish to omit it altogether, he contents himself with so imperfect an account, that is quite incomprehensible without a direct reference to his source.

3. In Book VII, 15, after having described Râma's consecration, Tulasî Dâsa introduces even the *phalastuti*, which in Vâlmîki comes immediately after it (*C*, VI, 128, 105 and following = *B*, VI, 112, 12 and following), without perceiving that such a *phalastuti*, whilst being in its place in the *Râmâyaṇa*, which originally ended with the *Yuddhakâṇḍa*, is quite out of place in his poem, which is to end only with the *Uttarakâṇḍa*.

Many other examples in corroboration of the above assertion, could be drawn from all those passages, where Tulasî Dâsa indicates by a most cursory allusion a Vâlmîkian episode deliberately omitted. Such allusions are often so incomplete and obscure that they seem to bear no meaning to any one who has not in mind the corresponding passages in the *Râmâyaṇa*, and we cannot understand why Tulasî Dâsa should have thrust them into his poem, unless we attribute to him the scrupulosity of a diligent historian, who feels himself bound to represent the facts in their full completeness and entireness. Here also I shall confine myself to only three examples :

1. The Viçvâmitra episode is wholly omitted by Tulasî Dâsa and the following allusion is substituted for the story : *muni-mana-agama Gâdhisuta-karanî* | *mudita Basiṣṭha bipula-bidhi baranî* ||, I, 359, 6, which we find repeated after a few stanzas : *Bâmadeva Raghukula-guru jñânî* | *bahuri Gâdhisuta-kathâ bakhânî* | I, 361, 1 ;

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[6] Sir G. Grierson, in his notice of the Italian edition of the present article (*J. R. A. S.*, 1912, pages 794-798), finds my assumption, that Tulasî Dâsa had a manuscript of the *Râmâyaṇa* by him and that he consulted it as he went along, not altogether justifiable. For, he observes, it cannot be thought that an Indian poet would labour on such lines. I feel I must heartily agree with him. My assumption was simply founded on the fact that I was unable to conceive Tulasî Dâsa's exactness in reproducing step by step and in its right arrangement the entire succession of incidents in Vâlmîki's poem as a mere case of memory.

[7] Following Jacobi's example (*Das Râmâyana, Gesch. u. Inhalt*, etc., Bonn, 1893), I represent by *C* the northern (or commented) recension, by *B* the Bengalee, and by *A* the western one.

2. The episode of the blind anchorite's son, whom Daçaratha killed in his youth, is thus alluded to in passing by Tulasî Dâsa: *tâpasa-andha-sâpa sudhi âî | Kausalyahiṁ saba kathâ sunâî* || II, 155, 4 ;

3. Sugrîva's detailed narration to Râma of Vâlin's feats on the Dundubhi *asura* and the seven palm-trees (*C*, IV, 11) is omitted by Tulasî Dâsa and the mere statement is made instead that Sugrîva showed Râma Dundubhi's bones and the palm-trees: *Dundubhi-asthi tâla dekharâye* | IV, 8, 12a.

Many examples of this kind, as well as others, could be easily drawn from the *Râmacharitamânasa* as further arguments in favour of Tulasî Dâsa's strict fidelity to the *Râmâyaṇa*, but it would be superfluous to dwell any longer upon this point here, as the reader will find plenty of such arguments in parallel passages quoted later on.[8] Having thus set the general rule that Tulasî Dâsa, as far as possible, closely follows Vâlmîki's data without altering them, it remains to formulate exceptions and to ascertain out of what motives, extrinsic or intrinsic in the poet's mind, these have sprung. In what cases does Tulasî Dâsa alter Vâlmîki's narrative ? and why ?

As regards a good many of the alterations we can give these questions a prompt and most positive answer. Tulasî Dâsa does not write as objectively as Vâlmîki did. On the contrary, there is a moral ideal to which all his poetry is subjected, and a particular result which he wishes to bring out by means of his poem. He has to relate facts in such a way as to convince his readers of Râma's divinity and to inspire them with faith and devotion. No wonder then that he alters Vâlmîki's facts, when these do not prove conformable to the tenets of his creed, as in that case alterations were an impelling necessity and quite justifiable from his particular point of view. This accounts for the total disguise of Râma's personality from the human in the divine ; the continual effort towards exalting his greatness and enhancing his virtues; the omission or justification of all the particulars which would seem unbecoming to his majestic power ; the exaggeration of the devotional feelings of all the people, who surround him or happen to come in contact with him, and the promotion to the rank of Râma's fervid votaries of all those who in the *Râmâyaṇa* either do Râma some great service (Hanumat, Sugrîva, etc.), or, being his enemies, refrain from fighting against him, be it out of righteousness (Vibhîshaṇa), or be it out of fear (Mârîcha, Kâlanemi). Particulars incompatible with the principle of Râma's divinity are not always silently passed over by Tulasî Dâsa, but in some, indeed in most cases, they are maintained, but softened or explained as being mere illusions brought about by the Lord's *mâyâ*; and this is another argument in favour of our assertion, that Tulasî Dâsa as far as he can avoids altering the source.[9] In some other cases, where both Râma and Lakshmaṇa are concerned, unbecoming particulars are attributed to Lakshmaṇa only. The same is the case with Sîtâ, who—just as Helena never went to Troja according to Stesichoros' palinode—never went to Lankâ, but was absorbed by the Fire, leaving on earth a void image of herself, and was given back by the Fire pure and untouched to Râma, after his victory over the *râkshasas*. Sîtâ's repudiation and her being swallowed by the Earth, her mother, are quite naturally wanting in the *Râmacharitamânasa*.

There are other alterations, which are of a different nature and are not so easy to explain. In many instances it is difficult to make out why Tulasî Dâsa has varied Vâlmîki's narrative

[8] Let me add only the remark that such a correspondence of the two poems to one another is all the more significant, inasmuch as Tulasî Dâsa is by no means a poet wanting in imagination, so that he would not have hesitated to overstep the limits laid down by Vâlmîki, had he deemed it permissible and wise.

[9] To confine myself to a single example of facts of this kind, I may cite *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*, 10, 4 and following, where Tulasî Dâsa maintains the particular of Vâlin's reproaching Râma for having killed him by treachery, but takes care to justify it by the remark: "Vâlin, though full of affection in his heart, yet *with his mouth* uttered harsh words . . ."

when there was apparently no reason for doing so; and we cannot suppose he did it out of mere love of novelty, since the facts examined above bear irrefragable testimony of his respect for the Vâlmîkian tradition. In my opinion these variations, which do not seem to have sprung from the necessity of removing some points in the old epic as being in open contrast with the moral and religious spirit of the new poem, have crept into the *Râmacharitamânasa* in sundry ways and are partly voluntary and partly involuntary. I would therefore distinguish :—

(*a*) The innovations, which Tulasî Dâsa knowingly introduced, conforming himself to other sources than the *Râmâyaṇa*. A clear allusion to those sources is made by the poet himself with the phrase *kvacid anyato 'pi* in the couplet quoted at the top of the present article ;[10]

(*b*) The innovations which Tulasî Dâsa introduced unconsciously without having any intention of swerving from Vâlmîki's path. These innovations, which, looking at their origin, we might more properly term mistakes or oversights, may be explained: (*a*) partly by supposing that the poet when composing those particular passages had not an exact vision of the Sanskrit text, but wrote from memory without perceiving that this was wrong; and (*b*) partly by considering that, in consequence of his continual effort to abridge and condense, when striving to constrain into a few verses the subject of several *sargas* of Vâlmîki, the poet may have involuntarily altered the appearance of the facts by relating them too concisely and defectively.

Let me give an example illustrative of this second class of alterations. In *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa*, 156, Tulasî Dâsa, just after having described Daçaratha's last moments, enters immediately into the description of the bemoanings of the queens, forgetting to remark that they took place only in the following morning, and then goes on to relate the grief of all the servants and citizens, as if all this had taken place during the very night of Daçaratha's death. Then he says: "In such lamentations the night was spent, (till in the morning) all great and learned sages arrived" (156, 8). Now, according to this description, it would seem that the sages had arrived in the morning subsequent to the night of the king's death, whilst according to Vâlmîki they arrive, or rather assemble, only in the morning of the second day. That Tulasî Dâsa, when writing this passage, had in mind and was closely following the corresponding passages in the *Râmâyaṇa* cannot be doubted, as it is sufficiently proved by No. 31 of the parallel passages quoted later on. It is clear that Tulasî Dâsa simply forgot to mention the breaking of the first day.

In the same class of alterations is to be reckoned that which I would call the *omission of the interval*, and this is little short of a rule in the *Râmacharitamânasa*. Whenever in Vâlmîki's narrative there are two analogous events separated by an interval of not much importance and having the only effect of retarding the progress of the facts, Tulasî Dâsa passes over the interval and merges the two events. A few examples will explain the matter better :

(*a*) In the *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa* (*C*, 4 = *B*, 3) Vâlmîki relates that Daçaratha calls Râma into his presence, and after having informed him of his intention of consecrating him *yuvarâja*, enjoins on him the performance along with Sîtâ of the fast preliminary to the ceremony (*first event*). Râma takes his

[10] Tracing these sources is not within the limits of the present article. Let me only point out that they are to be looked for especially amidst the *Purâṇas*, and the *Adhyâtmarâmâyaṇa* and the *Vasishṭhasaṃhitâ* are probably two of them. Sir G. Grierson calls my attention to the fact that several commentators point to a *Bhuçuṇḍirâmâyaṇa* also as having been largely utilized by Tulasî Dâsa, but this probably refers, as Sir G. Grierson himself seems inclined to suppose, only to the Kâka-Bhuçuṇḍi episode in the *Uttarakâṇḍa*, which being not included in Râma's life, lies outside our subject. On the whole my opinion concerning all these extraneous sources is that Tulasî Dâsa availed himself more of their spirit, and in some cases of their artistic form, than of their substance. In reference to art he utilized also to some degree Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṃça*, as is proved by the three quotations following: *Ragh.*, XII, 2 = *R. C. M.*, II, 2, 7; *Ragh.*, XII, 5 = *R. C. M.*, II, 25; 10-11; *Ragh.*, XII, 80 = *R. C. M.* VI, 69, 7.

leave and goes in search of Sîtâ and Kausalyâ, and finds both of them praying for him in the *devatâgâra*. After having spoken to them, he returns to his own house (*interval*). Then Daçaratha sends Vasishṭha to Râma to prescribe to him once more the performance of the fasting (*C*, 5 = *B*, 4) (*second event*). In Tulasî Dâsa's poem we miss every trace of the interval and find the two events blended together, inasmuch as Daçaratha does not himself inform Râma of the proposed consecration, but from the very beginning sends Vasishṭha to give him the information, as well as to prescribe to him the customary fast (*R. C. M.*, II, 9-10);

(*b*) In Vâlmîki's *Araṇyakâṇḍa* (*C*, 19-20 = *B*, 25-26) Çûrpaṇakhâ, after having been mutilated by Lakshmaṇa, goes in tears to her brother Khara and, being asked the reason of her grief, tells him of the insult she has suffered at the hands of the two Râghavas. Khara commits to fourteen *râkshasas* the task of revenging her; she leads these champions against the Râghavas, but Râma destroys them (*first event*). Then Çûrpaṇakhâ returns back to Khara and keeps on weeping till he requests of her for a second time the reason of her tears. She tells him of the defeat of the fourteen *râkshasas* and for the second time begs for revenge (*C*, 21 = *B*, 27) (*interval*). Then Khara sends against Râma fourteen thousand *râkshasas* at the command of Dûshaṇa (*C*, 22 = *B*, 28) (*second event*). Tulasî Dâsa omits the interval and makes one event of the two: the two expeditions are reduced to one, and this one of course no longer corresponds either to the first or to the second of the two, but is a mixture of both. So Tulasî Dâsa describes his unique expedition as being led by Çûrpaṇakhâ (like the first one in the *Râmâyaṇa*) and as composed of fourteen thousand *râkshasas* (like the second one in the *Râmâyaṇa*) (*R. C. M.*, III, 20);

(*c*) In Vâlmîki's *Yuddhakâṇḍa* (*C*, 68=*B*, 47) Râvaṇa laments Kumbhakarṇa's death (*first event*). Then comes another terrible fight, in which Narântaka, Devântaka, Mahodara, Triçiras, Mahâpârçva and Atikâya lose their lives (*C*, 69-71 = *B*, 48-51) (*interval*). This gives Râvaṇa the opportunity of making other lamentations and getting into despair, till Indrajit comforts him with blustering promises (*C*, 73 = *B*, 52) (*second event*). Tulasî Dâsa passes the whole interval over and makes Râvaṇa lament only once, *viz.*, after Kumbhakarṇa's death, and at this particular moment be consoled by Meghanâda (*R. C. M.*, VI, 72).

In the same order of alterations are to be included all the anachronisms proceeding from Tulasî Dâsa knowing already from Vâlmîki the result of every particular event, and anticipating by ascribing to the will of his personages facts, which in the *Râmâyaṇa* happen only afterwards, either by a mere chance, or as a natural consequence of previous occurrences. Thus he makes Agni himself, when handing to Daçaratha the impregnating nectar, direct him to divide it into the proper portions (*R. C. M.*, I, 189, 8); Viçvâmitra demand from Daçaratha not only Râma but also Lakshmaṇa (*R. C. M.*, I, 207, 10); Râma promise Sugrîva that he will slay Vâlin with a single arrow (*R. C. M.*, IV, 7, 15), etc.

Turning to the rhetorical and artistic side of the *Râmacharitamânasa*, we shall have to notice the very contrary of what we have observed in regard to its contents. The fact is that Tulasî Dâsa, whilst conforming himself closely to Vâlmîki as far as the particulars of Râma's life are concerned, directs on the other hand all his efforts towards acquiring an absolute independence from Vâlmîki's style and expressions. He displays the strongest aversion to availing himself of Vâlmîki's artistic resources and continuously takes the utmost care not to slide inadvertently into any image, simile or phrase used by his predecessor. Whether it be the natural pride arising from the poet's consciousness of his own worth and, his consequent abhorrence of lowering himself to the humble position of an imitator, or whether it be the necessity of giving vent to his poetical genius and to his rich imagination, or even the desire of giving his poem an appearance more in harmony

with the taste of the new times and making it more easily understood and appreciated by the illiterate masses, the fact is that Tulasî Dâsa continually tries his best to keep clear of any imitation and to establish his own independence and originality. And he generally succeeds in this effort, so that in this respect he appears as the author of a new and original work, not of a *rifacimento*, and every one must acknowledge that however much Vâlmîki has been his source, Vâlmîki has not in the least been his model.

No doubt a great part of the appearance of originality, which, makes the *Râmacharitamânasa* look so different from the *Râmâyaṇa*, is due to the different religious principles with which it is wholly infused and to the different genius of the language in which it is clothed. I do not mean by this to refer to the general impressions one may derive from reading the poem. I have already pronounced myself in favor of a positive criterion for solving any question of dependence of one work upon another, and accordingly I avoid general impressions here also and confine myself to the comparison of parallel passages of the two poems. It is such a comparison, carried on patiently for the entire length of Râma's life, that has led me to the abovementioned conclusion: *viz.*, that it is Tulasî Dâsa's deliberate wish to keep himself as independent as possible from Vâlmîki's expressions and that he tries continually to represent the facts in a new light, in order to make new impressions on the minds of his hearers and readers. This conclusion is chiefly deducted from the following observations:

(1) Tulasî Dâsa, though generally bent towards summarizing and condensing, dwells, often intentionally, on particulars hastily dealt with by Vâlmîki, and passes over or refers to by a simple allusion particulars which Vâlmîki has treated at some length.[11] As an example illustrative of the first series of cases, I quote the episode of Aṅgada's embassy to Râvaṇa, which is circumscribed by Vâlmîki within a few *ślokas* (*C*, VI, 41, 59 and ff = *B*, VI, 16, 60 and ff.), whilst Tulasî Dâsa enlarges it enormously (*R. C. M.*, VI, 17-35). The second series of cases is sufficiently illustrated by all those Vâlmîkian episodes, which Tulasî Dâsa omits or mentions by a hurried and obscure allusion, and these have been already dealt with in the antecedent pages;

(2) Tulasî Dâsa makes a constant endeavour not to reproduce Vâlmîki's similes and in parallel passages always replaces them by new ones, mostly of his own making;

(3) Tulasî Dâsa generally disdains to utilize words, appellatives or epithets used by Vâlmîki in parallel passages and substitutes synonyms for them.[12]

In spite of his continual efforts to keep clear of any imitation of Vâlmîki's art, Tulasî Dâsa nevertheless falls at times inadvertently into the very traps he wishes to avoid, and reproduces some turn of expression from the *Râmâyaṇa* in the very words used by Vâlmîki, or appropriates to himself some of his predecessor's similes. However scanty may be the number of these Vâlmîkian reminiscences interspersed within the *Râmacharitamânasa*, and however difficult

[11] His aversion to dwell upon particulars well known or largely and magisterially described by others is openly avowed by Tulasî Dâsa himself in more than one passage. For example, after having rapidly related Satî's suicide, he says: *yaha itihâsa sakala jaga jânâ | tâ tem maim saṃchhepa bakhânâ* (This story all the world knows, therefore I have described it briefly) (*R. C. M.*, I, 65, 4). A similar remark may be seen after the allusion to Kârtikeya's birth and deeds (*R. C. M.*, I, 103, 9-10). Tulasî Dâsa's tendency to give his descriptions a different length from Vâlmîki's had been already noticed by Growse: "In other passages, where the story follows the same lines, whatever Vâlmîki has condensed—as for example the description of the marriage festivities—Tulasî Dâsa has expanded; and wherever the elder poet has lingered longest, his successor as hastened on most rapidly" (*Introduction* to his Translation, page iv).

[12] Though a good many of such substitutions by synonyms may be explained as prosodial necessities, yet t cannot be so in all cases. A few instances illustrative of the different cases are: *Brahma-datta* for *Svayambhudatta* (see parallel passage No. 79), *sahodara* for *sodarya* (see parallel passage No. 77), *pâvaka-sara* for *astram agneyam* (see parallel passage No. 7), *Chandramâ* for *Niçâkara* (*R. C. M.*, IV, 29), *Meghanâda* for *Indrajit*, etc.

may be the task of recognizing them, owing to the great change they have undergone in being transferred to a language so different from the Sanskrit and to a style so different from the rich style of the epic, yet by diligent inquiries they can still be brought to light; and are important in so far as they supply us with the surest evidence that Tulasî Dâsa did actually and directly draw on the Sanskrit *Râmâyaṇa*.

Before entering on the exhibition and illustration of the most striking of these Vâlmîkian reminiscences still to be found in the *Râmacharitamânasa*, and thereby adducing the proofs of what I have been affirming up to now, I deem it necessary to solve the question as to which recension of the *Râmâyaṇa* was used by Tulasî Dâsa.

A careful analysis of the Hindî poem has enabled me to conclude that Tulasî Dâsa did not always follow the same recension of the Sanskrit poem, but that, though he usually followed *B*, he knew and largely followed also *C* (and may be even *A*).

Tulasî Dâsa's inconsistency as regards a model recension becomes apparent at a first glance, if we only look at the limits he has assigned to the single books. After the pattern of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Râmacharitamânasa*, too, is divided into seven *kâṇḍa*s, but the lines of the partition within the Hindî poem and within each of the three recensions of the Sanskrit poem do not coincide with each other. Tulasî Dâsa, however, does not follow an independent course generally, but conforms himself either to the one or to the other of the recensions, as can be seen from the following synopsis:

Bâlakâṇḍa: Ends in the *R. C. M.* as in *C, A*, and in the main as in *B* also, for the substance of *sarga*s 79-80, which *B* adds to the *Bâlakâṇḍa* thereby differing from *C, A*, has not been introduced by Tulasî Dâsa into his poem.

Ayodhyâkâṇḍa: Ends in the *R. C. M.* as in *B, A*; whilst *C* adds to it five other *sargas*.

Araṇyakâṇḍa: Ends in the *R. C. M.* as in *B, A*; whilst *C* falls short of a *sarga*.

Kishkindhâkâṇḍa: Ends in the *R. C. M.* as in *C*; *A* adds to it one more *sarga*, whilst *B* ends the *kâṇḍa* four *sarga*s before *C*.

Sundarakâṇḍa: Ends in the *R. C. M.* a *sarga* before than in *B*; *A* concords with *B* but adds two *sarga*s which fail in *B, C*; *C* ends the *kâṇḍa* a score of *sarga*s before.

Laṅkâkâṇḍa: Ends in the *R. C. M.* as the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* in *A, B, C*.

Uttarakâṇḍa: Differs entirely in the *R. C. M.*

By comparing single passages in the *Râmacharitamânasa* with their corresponding ones in the *Râmâyaṇa*, and chiefly by examining the particulars, exclusive either of *B* or of *C*, that have been accepted by Tulasî Dâsa, I have been able to conclude with certainty that Tulasî Dâsa follows *C* and *B* alternately, and to fix the limits and recurrence of these alternations as follows:

(1) Tulasî Dâsa follows *C* from the beginning of Râma's life (*C*, I, 18) till Râma's arrival at the Chitrakûṭa (*C*, II, 56);

(2) Tulasî Dâsa follows *B* from Sumantra's return to Ayodhyâ (*B*, (*C*), II, 57) till the end of the *Araṇyakâṇḍa* and may be even further on for a good part of the *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*;

(3) Tulasî Dâsa follows *C* from the beginning of the *Sundarakâṇḍa* till Râma's ascension on the Suvela after bridging the Ocean (*C*, VI, 40);

(4) Tulasî Dâsa follows *B* from the beginning of the combats with the *râkshasas* (*B*, VI, 17 = *C*, VI, 42) down to the end of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa*.

Each of the above items represents a conclusion from a series of evidence drawn from examining all passages which are found in only one of the two recensions of the *Râmâyaṇa* (*B, C*,) and either have no correspondence at all with the other or differ greatly from it. All this evidence is invariably unilateral within each of the four partitions, *i. e.*, within the limits of the first and

third partition, Tulasî Dâsa follows *C* exclusively, and within the limits of the second and fourth partition follows *B* exclusively. These deductions are chiefly derived from the following points of examination:

1: T. D. follows C.

(1) *R. C. M.*, I, 191, 1^a = *C*, I, 18, 8^b (*B* wanting).

[Râma is born on the ninth day of the Chaitra-month]. See parallel No. 2, below;

(2) *R. C. M.*, I, 210, 4^b = *C*, I, 30, 18^b (*B* differing).

[Mârîcha is struck so forcibly by Râma's shaft that he falls a hundred *yojanas* away] In *B* we miss the number. See parallel No. 6;

(3) *R. C. M.*, II, 6, 1-4 = *C*, II, 3, 6-20 (*B* wanting).

[Vasishtha in compliance with Daçaratha's request enumerates the customary things required for Râma's consecration];

(4) *R. C. M.*, II, 37, 2^a = *C*, II, 13, 17^b (*B* wanting).

See parallel No. 17;

(5) *R. C. M.*, II, 38, —39, 1 = *C*, II, 14, 55^b-64^a (*B* differing).

[Sumantra goes to wake Daçaratha and is commanded by Kaikeyî to fetch Râma at once]. In *B*, not Kaikeyî but Daçaratha himself, spurred on by Kaikeyî, gives Sumantra the order to fetch Râma;

(6) *R. C. M.*, II, 86, 1-8 = *C*, II, 47 (*B* wanting).

[The citizens that follow Râma to the woods get up in the morning and noticing Râma's disappearance burst into lamentations; then, being unable to find out the tracks of his chariot, return to Ayodhyâ]. See parallel No. 25;

(7) *R. C. M.*, II, 124, 5 and ff. = *C*, II, 56, 16-17 (*B* wanting).

[The three exiles reach Vâlmîki's hermitage].

2: T. D. follows B.

(1) *R. C. M.*, II, 152, 3^a and ff. = *B*, II, 58, 22 and ff. (*C* differing).

[Sumantra relates to Daçaratha the messages of Râma and Lakshmaṇa]. *C* (II, 58, 21 and ff.) says the same as *B*, but the reference to *B* is more persuasive. See parallel No. 28;

(2) *R. C. M.*, II, 155, 9-10 = *B*, II, 66, 67-68 (*C* differing).

[Daçaratha breathes his last invoking: "Râma! Râma!"].

(3) *R. C. M.*, II, 163, 1 and ff. = *B*, II, 77, 6 and ff. (*C*, II, 78, 5 and ff.)

[Çatrughna illtreats Mantharâ]. This takes place in the *R. C. M.* as well as in *B* after Bharata's reproach to Kaikeyî, whilst in *C* it takes place only thirteen days after Daçaratha's obsequies;

(4) *R. C. M.*, II, 169, 7-8 = *B*, II, 79, 39-40 and 80-81 (*C* wanting).

[On the morning following the day of Bharata's arrival, Daçaratha's ministers congregate the assembly and in that meeting Vasishtha consoles and admonishes Bharata];

(5) *R. C. M.*, II, 281, 6^b = *B*, II, 80, 15 (*C* wanting).

See parallel No. 39;

(6) In the *R. C. M.*, the *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa* ends at the same point as in *B* (*C* adds to it also the five *sargas* with which the *Araṇyakâṇḍa* begins in *B*: *C*, II, 116-119);

(7) *R. C. M.*, III, 1-3 = *B*, II, 105 (*C* wanting).

[Description of Râma's and Sîtâ's pastimes on the Chitrakûṭa and episode of the crow]. This *sarga* *B*, II, 105 is quoted by Râmavarman in his commentary as a *prakshipta* after *sarga* *C*, II, 95;

(8) *R. C. M.*, III, 19, 7 = *B*, III, 23, 25 (*C* wanting).
See parallel No. 43;

(9) *R. C. M.*, III, 19, 11[a] = *B*, III, 23, 45 (*C* wanting).
See parallel No. 44;

(10) *R. C. M.*, III, 21, 1 = *B*, III, 30, 33 (*C* wanting).
See parallel No. 45;

(11) *R. C. M.*, III, 22, 10 = *B*, III, 31, 25-23 (*C* wanting).
See parallel No. 46;

(12) *R. C. M.*, III, 22, 23-30 = *B*, III, 31, 46[b]-47 (*C* wanting).
See parallel No. 48;

(13) In the *R. C. M.*, the *Aranyakâṇḍa* ends at the same point as in *B*. (The *sarga* which *B* considers as the last of the *Aranyakâṇḍa* is included by *C* in the *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*.)

3: T. D. follows C.

(1) In the *R. C. M.*, the *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa* ends at the same point as in *C*, *viz.*, after the deliberation on the leaping over the Ocean. (*B* includes this deliberation in the *Sundarakâṇḍa*);

(2) *R. C. M.*, V, 1, 9—3, 5 = *C*, V, 1, 85-187 (*B* differing).

[Hanumat in his way through the sky meets firstly Mainâka, then Surasâ, and lastly Siṃhikâ]. In *B* the order of succession is changed: Surasâ, Mainâka, Siṃhikâ;

(3) *R. C. M.*, V, 4 = *C*, V, 3, 20-51 ((*A*), *B* wanting).

[Hanumat's meeting with Laṅkâ (= *Laṅkâpurâdhishṭhâtridevatâ*) in *C*; with the Laṅkinî râkshasî in the *R. C. M.*][13];

(4) *R. C. M.*, V, 26, 3[a] = *C*, V, 54, 40
R. C. M., V, 26, 4 = *C*, V, 54, 35-36
R. C. M., V, 26, 8-9 = *C*, V, 54, 49 } (*B* wanting).

See parallel No. 67;

(5) *R. C. M.*, V, 60, 5-6 = *C*, VI, 22, 27-39 (*B* wanting).

[The Ocean prays Râma to shoot at the Drumakulya the arrow he has fitted to his bow and Râma complies with the request];

(6) *R. C. M.*, VI, 13 = *C*, VI, 40 ((*A*), *B* wanting).

[Overthrowing of Râvaṇa's crowns at the hands of Sugrîva in the *Râmâyaṇa*, of Râma in the *R. C. M.*]

See parallel No. 75.

4: T. D. follows B.

(1) *R. C. M.*, VI, 6-8
R. C. M., VI, 14-16
R. C. M., VI, 36-37 } *B*, VI, 33, 8—34 (*C* wanting).

[Mandodarî tries to persuade Râvaṇa to give up fighting against Râma; but he answers by boasting of his own strength]. This scene is found only once in *B*, but is repeated three times in the *R. C. M.*;

(2) *R. C. M.*, VI, 56-60 = *B*, VI, 82 (*C* wanting).

[Hanumat goes to fetch the herb that will heal Lakshmaṇa and meets on his way two obstacles: Bharata and Kâlanemi. This is according to *B*. Tulasî Dâsa on the whole keeps close to

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13 Tulasî Dâsa varies somewhat the episode, but does not alter it in its general lines. Brahmâ's prophecy is identical even in the expression both in the *Râmacharitamânasa* as well as in the *Râmâyaṇa*.

B, but makes Hanumat meet firstly Kâlanemi and then Bharata, and represents him as being actually brought down by Bharata's arrow (*so* !)] ;

(3) *R. C. M.*, VI, 61, 7-8^{b} = *B*, VI,24, 7^{b}- 8^{a} (*C* wanting). See parallel No. 77 ;

(4) *R. C. M.*, VI, 63, 5-6 = *B*, VI, 40, 30 and ff. (*C* wanting). [Kumbhakarṇa declares to Râvaṇa Nârada's prophecy] ;

(5) *R. C. M.*, VI, 106, 9-10 = *B*, VI, 92, 74^{b}-76 (*C* wanting). See parallel No. 82 ;

(6) *R. C. M.*, VI, 108, 11 = *B*, VI, 99, 32^{b} and ff.(*C* wanting). See parallel No. 83.

I regret that the absence of an edition has prevented me from extending my inquiries to the *A* recension too. The only work on *A*, that has been accessible to me, is that by Hans Wirtz, [14] which exhibits tables of concordances between *A* and the two other recensions, but these are too concise and vague to serve for any detailed comparison and to lead to precise results. The only point of connection between the *Râmacharitamânasa* and *A*, that I have been able to ascertain, refers to the *sarga A*, VI, 82, (wanting in *B* and *C*) which has its perfect correspondence in *R. C. M.*, VI, 85. The substance of the passage is as follows : " Râma, informed by Vibhîshaṇa that Râvaṇa is performing a sacrifice that will make him invincible, despatches Hanumat with other monkeys to interrupt it. These enter Râvaṇa's palace and try in every way to distract his attention by provoking him with all sorts of insults, but they do not succeed. At last, seeing no other means, they seize the queens by the hair and drag them away, till the screams of the poor women crying for help induce Râvaṇa to interrupt his sacrifice and run to their rescue." Such is Tulasî Dâsa's narrative, which is in perfect conformity with the summary of the *sarga A*, VI, 82 as given by Hans Wirtz, pages 35-36. Since this *sarga* on the *Mandodarîkeçagrahaṇa* is wholly unknown to both *B* and *C*, it is beyond doubt that Tulasî Dâsa has derived it either from *A* directly or from some other source proceeding from *A*.

Having thus smoothed the way by removing these questions, let us proceed directly to a close view of those Vâlmîkian reminiscences, which can be still found within the *Râmacharitamânasa*, and which, considering Tulasî Dâsa's aversion to imitating his predecessor's art, are the surest proof in favor of the proposition we have been advancing and maintaining. Of course, it is not so much the single coincidences, which might often be quite casual and insignificant, as the whole of them taken together that may be expected to lend the most forcible argument in elucidation of our assertions.

Bâlakâṇḍa.

(1) The monkeys, Râma's future helpmates, are described with the same epithets in the *R.* as in the *R. C. M.* :

C, I, 17, 25^{a}-26^{b} (*B*, I, 20, 13^{b}-14^{a}): çilâpraharaṇâḥ sarve sarve parvatayodhinaḥ || 25 || nakhadaṃshṭrâyudhâḥ sarve. . . .	*R. C. M.*, I, 188, 4^{a}: giri-taru-nakha-âyudha saba . . .

and are represented as having resorted to the mountains and to the woods:

C, I, 17, 32^{a} (*B*, I, 20, 20^{a}) : . . . . nânâvidhâñ chhailân kânanâni ca bhejire | .	*R. C. M.*, I, 188, 5: giri kânana jahaṁ tahaṁ bhari pûrî | rahe. . . .

(2) Râma is born on the ninth day of the Chaitra or Madhu month:

C, I, 18, 8b (*B* wanting) : tataç ca dvâdaçe mâse Chaitre nâvamike tithau || 8 ||.	*R. C. M.*, I, 191, 1^{a}: navamî tithi Madhu-mâsa punîtâ | .

[14] *Die westliche Rezension des " Râmâyaṇa,"* von Hans Wirtz, Bonn, 1894.

(3) Râma is always in company with Lakshmaṇa. With him he goes hunting:

C, I, 18, 31^b-32^a (*B*, I, 19, 24):	*R. C. M.*, I, 205, 1:
yadâ hi hayam ârûḍho mṛigayâṃ yâti Râghavaḥ ‖ 31 ‖ athai 'naṃ pṛishṭhato 'bhyeti	bandhu sakhâ saṅga lehiṁ bolâî | bana mṛigayâ nita khelahiṁ jâî |;

in company with him he takes his meals:

C, I, 18, 31^a (*B*, I, 19, 23^a):	*R. C. M.*, I, 205, 4^a:
mṛishṭam annam upânîtam açnâti na hi taṃ vinâ |	anuja sakhâ saṁga bhojana karahîṁ |

Râma is always obedient to his parents:

C, I, 18, 28 (*B* wanting):	*R. C. M.*, I, 205, 4^b:
. . . . pituḥ çuçrûshaṇe rataḥ	mâtu pitâ ajñâ anusarahîṁ |

This last coincidence, which at first sight might look quite casual, becomes important if we consider that it occupies the same and identical place in each of the two poems. Upon the whole there is no doubt that Tulasî Dâsa directly knew and largely utilized Vâlmîki's *sarga* *C*, I, 18.

(4) In the *R. C. M.* Viçvâmitra tries to persuade Daçaratha to give him Râma and Lakshmaṇa, and protests that this will be beneficial to him and to his sons too. Both these arguments can be traced back to the *R*:

C, I, 19, 15^b-16^a (*B*, I, 22, 16):	*R. C. M.*, I, 207, 12:
yadi te dharmalâbhaṃ tu yaçaç cha paramaṃ bhuvi ‖ 15 ‖ sthiram ichchhasi râjendra Râmaṃ me dâtum arhasi |	dharma sujasa prabhu tuma kauṁ.
C, I, 19, 10: çreyaç châ'smai pradâsyâmi . . .	inha kahaṁ ati kalyâna ‖.
(*B*, I, 22, 11: vidye châ'smai prayachchhâmi . . .)	

(5) Tâḍakâ's attack is depicted with the same stereotyped expression in both the poems:

C, I, 26, 8^b (*B*, I, 29, 7^b):	*R. C. M.*, I, 209, 5^b:
çrutvâ châ 'bhyadravat kruddhâ . . .	suni Tâḍakâ krodha kari dhâî |

The persuasiveness of this particular parallel is intensified by the fact that *suni* and *krodha kari* are not so well justified in the *R. C. M.* as *çrutvâ* and *kruddhâ* are in the *R*. In the Sanskrit poem Tâḍakâ hears the terrible twang (*jyâghoṣa*) of Râma's bow and, feeling herself provoked by it, gets into a fury; but in the Hindî poem *suni* has no direct object, and the only obvious object of which it admits, *viz.*, the voice of Viçvâmitra who was pointing out Tâḍakâ to Râma, does not seem a sufficient reason for the *râkshasî's* fierce wrath.

(6) Mârîcha, smitten by Râma with an arrow, is driven a hundred *yojana*s to the other side of the Ocean (in the *R.*, into the Ocean):

C, I, 30, 18^b:	*R. C. M.*, I, 210, 4^b:
sampûrṇaṃ yojanaçataṃ ksiptaḥ sâgarasamplave ‖ 18 ‖	sata jojana gâ sâgara-pârâ ‖.

(In *B* we miss the number).

(7) In the *R. C. M.* (I, 210, 5^a) Râma slays Subâhu with a *pâvaka-sara*, which corresponds to the *astram agneyam* mentioned in the parallel passage of the *R*. (*C*, I, 30, 22; *B*, I, 33, 19^a).

(8) The chief lines in the description of Râma Jâmadagnya are identical in both the poems:

C, I, 74, 17^a (*B*, I, 76, 18^b):	*R. C. M.*, I, 268, 5^a:
jaṭâmaṇḍaladhâriṇam |	sîsa jaṭâ . . .
C, I, 74, 19 (*B*, I, 76, 20):	*R. C. M.*, I, 268, 8^b:
skandhe châ 'sajjya paraçuṃ dhanur vidyudgaṇopamam | pragṛihya çaram ugraṃ cha . . .	dhanu sara kara kuṭhâra kala kâṁdhe ‖

In the *R.* Râma tells Paraçurâma that he spares him only on account of his being a Brâhmaṇa; in the *R. C. M.* we find the same words uttered by Lakshmaṇa:

C, I, 76, 6 (*B*, I, 77, 40):	*R. C. M.*, I, 276, 6^b:
brâhmaṇo 'sî'ti pûjyo me ... | tasmâch chhakto na te Râma moktuṃ prâṇaharaṃ çaram || 6 ||.	bipra bichâri bachaü ...

(9) On the morning after the marriages of his four sons, Daçaratha gets up very early and bestows upon the Brâhmaṇas 400 thousand cows:

C, I, 72, 21^b-23 (*B*, I, 74, 27^b-29):	*R. C. M.*, I, 330, 2^a:
prabhâte kâlyam utthâya chakre godânam uttamam || 21 || gavâṃ çatasahasraṃ cha brâhmaṇebhyo narâdhipaḥ | ekaikaço dadau râjâ putrân uddiçya dharmataḥ || 22 || suvarṇaçriṅgyaḥ sampannâḥ suvatsâḥ kâṃsyadohanâḥ | gavâṃ çatasahasrâṇi chatvâri purusharshabhaḥ || 23 ||.	baḍe bhora bhûpati-mani jâge | *R. C. M.*, I, 331, 2-3: chârî lachchha bara-dhenu maṁgâî | Kâmasurabhi sama sîla suhâî || saba bidhi sakala alaṃkṛita kînhî | mudita mahipa mahidevana dînhî ||.

(*To be continued.*)

AJIVIKAS.[1]

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

IT has been long since recognised that the Âjîvikas of Aśoka's Pillar-edict VII were the same as the Âjîviyas of the Jaina scriptures and the Âjîvakas of the Buddhist canon. And Prof. Kern was the first to contend that they were an ancient ascetic order, worshipping Nârâyaṇa, *i.e.*, a subdivision of the Vaishṇavas. This view he has set forth in *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, Vol. II. It was countenanced by Prof. Bühler, who in his paper on "The Barâbar and Nâgârjunî hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśaratha"[2] says as follows: "As Professor Kern's work will not be accessible to the majority of Indian readers, I shall try to give a brief exposition of his arguments, regarding which he has kindly furnished me some fuller information. Assuming, as must be done, that the Âjîvikas of our inscriptions are the same as those named in Aśoka's seventh Pillar-edict, he translates the words l. 4-5: *hêm-êva bâbhanêsu Âjîvikêsu-pi-mê kaṭê imê viyapaṭâ hôhaṁti-ti* by 'Likewise I have arranged it that these (*Dharma-mahâmâtras*) will be occupied also with the Brâhmaṇical Âjîvikas.' With the information thus elicited from the Pillar-edict, he combines the statements of Utpala regarding the Âjîvikas, who are mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-Jâtaka*, XV. 1, together with the Vṛiddhaśrâvakas, the Nirgranthas or Jainas, and other ascetics. Utpala says in his commentary: *âjîvika-grahaṇaṁ cha Nârâyaṇâśritânâṁ*, "and the use of (the term) Âjîvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nârâyaṇa," and in support of this explanation, brings forward two Prâkṛit passages, introducing them with the words: *tathâ cha vaṁ* [read *tathâ ch=aiva*] *Kâlakâchâryaḥ*—"and thus (*says*) also Kâlakâchârya." In the first of these passages the term *êaḍaṇḍîâ*, *i.e.*, *êkadaṇḍin*, "(*an ascetic*) carrying one staff" (instead of the usual triple staff) is used for *Âjîvika* and in the second a longer explanation is given, which Utpala renders by *Kêśavamârga-dîkshitaḥ Kêśavabhaktaḥ Bhâgavata ity=arthaḥ*." Prof. Bühler further adds that Prof. Kern's "confidence in the statements of Utpala appears justifiable, because the latter are supported by so ancient a writer as Kâlakâchârya. The Kâlakâchârya, quoted by him, is in all probability the famous Jaina teacher, who is said to have

[1] In June 1902 I communicated a note on the Âjîvikas to the *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, which has been published in its Vol. XXI, p. 399 ff. This paper, though it has attracted the attention of some of the reputed scholars, does not seem to have been largely read. I, therefore, re-edit it here in a slightly recast form and embodying the latest information available to me.

[2] Above, Vol. XX, p. 362.

changed the date of the Pajjusan festival in the year 993 after Vîra, or A. D. 466. The identification is suggested by the fact that Utpala's Kâlakâchârya is the author of a work on astrology and that the Jainas ascribe to their latest Kâlakâchârya an innovation which presupposes the study of astronomy. If thus the author, quoted by Utpala, belongs to the fifth century, his statements deserve to be treated with all due respect."

It will thus be seen that, according to Professors Kern and Bühler, the Âjîvikas are Vaishṇavas. This view rests on two passages from Utpala's commentary on Varâhamihira's *Bṛihajjâtaka*. The first passage is: *Ajîvika-grahaṇaṁ cha Nârâyaṇ-âśritânâm,* which Prof. Kern renders by "and the use of (the term) Âjîvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nârâyaṇa." The second passage is a quotation from Kâlakâchârya, which Utpala renders by the Sanskrit *Keśava-mârga-dîkshitaḥ Keśava-bhaktaḥ Bhâgavata=ity=arthaḥ* and which, Prof. Kern supposes, shows that the Jaina teacher regards Âjîvikas as Bhâgavatas. Now, in the first place, the translation proposed by Prof. Kern for the first passage is not correct. That this is the case will be seen from the following extract from Utpala's commentary on *Bṛihajjâtaka* XV. 1:

एकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाताः पृथग्वीर्यगैः
शाक्याजीविकभिक्षुवृद्धचरका निर्ग्रन्थवन्याशनाः।
माहेयज्ञगुरुक्षपाकरसितप्राभाकरीनैः क्रमात्
प्रव्रज्या बलिभिः समा परिजितैस्तत्स्वामिभिः प्रच्युतिः ॥

तत्रादावेव चतुरादिभिरेकस्थैर्ग्रहैर्जातस्य प्रव्रज्यायोगं शार्दूलविक्रीडितेनाह ॥ एकस्थैरिति । यत्र तत्र राशौ ग्रहाश्चतुरादयश्चत्वारः पञ्च षट् सप्त वा एकस्था यदा भवन्ति। सर्वे बलहीनास्तदा जातस्य प्रव्रज्या न भवति। तेषां चतुरादीनां एकत्रगानां मध्याद्यद्येकोऽपि बलवान्भवति तदैव प्रव्रज्याः भवन्ति । यदा बहवो बलिनस्तदा बहवः प्रव्रज्या भवन्ति । एवमेकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाताः प्रव्रज्याभाजो भवन्ति। यस्मादुक्तं ॥ प्रव्रज्या बलिभिः समा ॥ ताश्च पृथग्वीर्यगैः शाक्यादयो भवन्ति । वीर्यगैर्बलिभिर्ग्रहैःपृथक् समस्ता भवन्ति। शाक्यादीनां माहेयादयो ग्रहा यथोक्तक्रमेण ॥ तद्यथा ॥ चतुरादीनामेकस्थानां मध्याद्यदा बलवान्माहेयो भवति तदा शाक्यो भवति । शाक्यो रक्तपटः । अथ चतुरादिनां मध्याद्यदा ज्ञो बुधो बलवान्भवति तदा आजीविको भवति । आजीविकश्चैकदण्डी । एवं जीवो बलवान्यदा भवति तदा भिक्षुर्भवति । संन्यासी ज्ञेयः[3] । यदा चन्द्रो बलवान् तदा वृद्धश्रावको भवति । वृत्तभंगभयात् श्रावकशब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्यः। वृद्धश्रावकः कपाली । शुक्रे बलवति चरको भवति । चरको चक्रधरः[4] । सौरे बलवति निर्ग्रन्थः निर्ग्रन्थो नग्नः क्षपणकः प्रावरणादिरहितः । आदित्ये बलवति वन्याशनो भवति । वने भवं वन्यं तदश्नातीति वन्याशनः । तपस्वी मूलफलाशनः। एवं क्रमात्प्रव्रज्यापर्यायः। एते च कालकमताद्व्याख्याताः। तथा च कालकाचार्यः ॥ तावसिओ दिणणाहे चंदे कावालिअं तहा भणिअं। रत्तवडो भूमिसुवे सोमसुवे एअदण्डी अ ॥ देवगुरु-शुक्क-कोणा कवेण जई-चरअ-खवणाइं ॥ अस्यार्थ;। तावसिओ तापसिकः। दिणणाहे दिननाथे। चंदे चन्द्रे। कावालिअं कापालिकः। तहा भणिअं तथा भणितः। रत्तवडो रक्तपटः। भूमिसुवे भूमिसुते। सोमसुवे सोमसुते। एअदण्डी अ एकदण्डी च। देवगुरुर्बृहस्पतिः।शुक्कः शुक्रः। कोणः शनिः। कवेण क्रमेण। जई यतिः। चरअ चरकः। खवणाइं क्षपणकः। अत्र वृद्धश्रावकग्रहणं महेश्वराश्रितानां प्रव्रज्यानामुपलक्षणं। आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां। तथा च कालकसंहितायां पठ्यते । जलण-हर-सुगअ-केसव-सुइ-ब्रम्ह-णग्ग-मग्गेसु दिक्काणं। णाअव्वा सुराइ-गहा कमेण नाह गऊं ॥ अस्यार्थः जलण ज्वलनः। साग्निक इत्यर्थः। हर ईश्वरभक्तः। भट्टारकः। सुगअ सुगतः। बौद्ध इत्यर्थः। केसव केशवभक्तः। भागवत इत्यर्थः। सुइ श्रुतिमार्गरतः। मीमांसकः। ब्रम्ह ब्रह्मभक्तः। वानप्रस्थः। नग्ग नग्नः। क्षपणकः। मग्गेसु मार्गेषु। दिक्काणं दीक्षानां। णाअव्वा ज्ञातव्याः। सुराइगहा सूर्यादिग्रहाः। कमेण क्रमेण। नाह गऊं नाथ गतः।

Now, with regard to the first passage *Âjîvika-grahaṇaṁ cha Nârâyaṇ-âśritânâṁ*, it is plain that the word *cha* indicates that it is connected with the preceding sentence, and that consequently the words *pravrajyânâm=upalakshaṇaṁ* from the latter, require to be understood after *Nârâyaṇ-âśritânâṁ* in the former passage. Prof. Kern, however, not perceiving the force of *cha* takes *Âjîvika-grahaṇaṁ cha Nârâyaṇ-âśritânâṁ* as a sentence distinct in itself. Evidently, therefore, he cannot be right in translating it by "and the use of (the term) Âjîvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nârâyaṇa." The true rendering of the passage ought to be: "and (the term)

[3] Another reading: भिक्षुस्त्रिदण्डी यतिः

[4] Another reading: चक्रकरस्त्रिः

Âjîvika is used as a mark to denote the monastic orders seeking refuge with Nârâyaṇa." Here the most important word is *upalakshaṇa*, which Prof. Kern has entirely lost sight of. *Upalakshaṇa* means a mark indicative of something that the word itself does not actually express. Sanskrit commentators often employ the word *upalakshaṇa*, when they want a certain word or expression in the original to denote things, not, truly speaking, signified by that word or expression. And precisely the same practice is followed here by Utpala. To understand this fully and also the real significance of the two passages, on the misinterpretation of which Prof. Kern's view is based, it is necessary to comprehend the gist of Varâhamihira's stanza and Utpala's commentary thereon, quoted above. According to Varâhamihira, a man turns a recluse when four or more planets are clustered together in one and the same zodiacal division at the time of his birth and at least one of them is powerful. And according as this powerful planet is the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus or Saturn, he becomes a *vanyaśána*, Vṛiddha[-śrâvaka], Śâkya, Âjîvika, *bhikshu*, Charaka or Nirgrantha. Utpala tells us that Varâhamihira has made this enumeration on the authority of Kâlakâchârya. The latter's verse *Tâvasio diṇaṇâhe*, etc., is then cited, which tells us that a man becomes a Tâpasika, Kâpâlika, *raktapaṭa*, Ekadaṇḍî, *yati*, Charaka or Kshapaṇaka when the predominant planet is Sûrya, Chandra, etc. The Tâpasika, Kâpâlika, etc., of this verse are taken by Utpala to correspond to the *vanyâsâna*, Vṛiddha-śrâvaka, etc., of Varâhamihira. How far this procedure of Utpala is justifiable I leave it to scholars to determine. But certain it is that he would have us take Vṛiddha-śrâvaka and Âjîvika to *mean* Kâpâlika and Ekadaṇḍî. Now, there is another verse of Kâlakâchârya, which also informs us what kind of recluse a man becomes under precisely these astrological conditions. The list of ascetic denominations mentioned in this verse agrees with that previously given except in two points. These exceptions are *Harabhakta* or *Maheśvar-âśrita* and *Keśavabhakta* or *Nârâyaṇ-âśrita*, and, as this second verse of Kâlakâchârya says, a man becomes one of these according as the powerful planet is Chandra or Budha. But it has been just stated above that in the same astrological conditions he becomes a Vṛiddha śrâvaka (=Kâpâlika) or Âjîvika (=Ekadaṇḍî). Hence arises the necessity, says Utpala, of understanding Vṛiddha-śrâvaka and Âjîvika of the original stanza as marks (*upalakshaṇa*) denoting *Maheśvar-âśrita* and *Nârâyaṇ-âśrita*. Thus, according to Utpala, Âjîvika **does not signify** *Nârâyaṇ-âśrita, Keśava-bhakta*, or Bhâgavata, as Prof. Kern supposes, but **simply indicates it**; and it is equally incontrovertible that **Kâlakâchârya also never held such a view.** The theory propounded by Prof. Kern and upheld by Bühler that the Âjîvikas are Vaishṇavas has, therefore, no grounds at all to stand upon.

It will not be out of place, I think, if a short account of these Âjîvikas is given with a view to point out who they were. My work here will be principally that of bringing some of the scattered rays to a focus. The founders of this monastic order were Nanda-Vachchha, Kisa-Saṁkichchha, and Makkhali Gosâla, of whom the last is by far the most famous, as he is one of the six well-known teachers mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. Buddhaghosha tells us that an Âjîvika is *nagga-pabbajito*.[5] Âjîvikas are also described as *achela*[6], *i.e.*, unclothed. And, in confirmation of this, there are at least two stories forthcoming from the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. According to the first, which is in the *Mahâvagga*,[7] while the Buddha and the Bhikshus were once staying in the Anâthapiṇḍikâśrama in Jetavana at Śrâvastî, it began to rain all over the world. The Buddha informed the Bhikshus that that was the last mighty storm over the whole world, and consequently asked them to let themselves be rained down upon. The Bhikshus accordingly divested themselves of their robes, and exposed their bodies to rain. On that very day, Visâkhâ, mother of Migâra, was engaged in preparations for a feast to the Buddha and his Bhikshus. When the preparations were over, she sent her maid-servant to the Buddha to intimate that dinner was ready.

[5] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1898, p. 197. [6] *Jâtaka* I. 390. [7] M. VIII. 15, 2-6.

When the maid-servant approached the Anâthapiṇḍikâśrama, she saw the naked Bhikshus, but concluded from their being naked that they were Âjîvikas. The other story, which is from the *Nissaggiya*,[8] is, that, while a few Bhikshus left Sâketa for Śrâvastî, they were waylaid by robbers, who deprived them of their robes. Being forbidden by the Buddha to ask for another garment, they went naked to Śrâvastî to meet the other Bhikshus there. But the latter instead of recognising them as mendicants of their order, mistook them for Âjîvikas as they were unclothed.

The Âjîvikas covered their bodies with dust, and ate the ordure of a calf.[9] They were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. Some of the austerities they practiced are mentioned in one *Jâtaka* to have been "painful squatting on heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns, and scorching themselves with five fires.[10] Again, as first pointed out by Prof. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball.[11] Their doctrine has been admirably summed up by the Buddha in the words *n=atthi kammaṁ n=atthi kiriyaṁ n=atthi viriyan=ti*.[12] They were thus complete fatalists.

The Âjîvikas appear to have been in existence long before the rise of Buddhism. The most celebrated exponent of their doctrines in the time of the Buddha was Makkhali Gosâla. But he was only the third of their teachers, the two preceding ones being Nanda Vachchha and Kisa Saṁkichchha. They seem to have been of some consequence during the Maurya period. The Barâbar and Nâgârjunî cave inscriptions[13] show that these caves had been excavated and dedicated specially to them by Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. The Âjîvikas are also mentioned in Aśoka's Pillar-edict VII, in connection with the religious sects which the *Dharma-mahâmâtras* had been instructed by him to concern themselves with.[14] Then we do not hear of the Âjîvikas till the time of Varâhamihira (*circa* A.D. 525) who, as we have seen above, refers to them in his *Bṛihajjâtaka*. An allusion to them also occurs in the *Jânakî-haraṇa* of Kumâradâsa (A. D. 725). In chap. X, v. 76, Râvaṇa is represented to have approached Sîtâ in the guise of an Âjîvika monk. Some inscriptions[15], found in the Madras, Presidency and belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century, speak of a tax on the Âjîvikas which it appears to have been customary in those days to impose on them. It is not clear why they were so much looked down upon. Prof. Hultzsch, who has edited the inscriptions, considers them to be Jainas, but specifies no grounds in support of his position. He is probably led to hold this view because he thinks that there is no evidence to show that the Âjîvikas were existing so late as the 13th century. But, as has been recently shown by Prof. Pathak,[16] they were well-known to the Digambara Jaina authors of the later Châlukya and Yâdava periods and are mentioned as living chiefly on *kâñji*. They, however, mistook them to be a sect of Buddhist Bhikshus. The Buddhists, in their turn, have mistaken them for Nirgranthas, for the latter have actually been once called Âjîvikas in the *Divyâvadâna*.[17] The truth of the matter appears to be that they were neither Buddhists nor Jainas even in the later times, but formed a distinct sect.

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[8] N. VI. 2.

[9] *Jât*. I. 390; the reading *vachchhaka*° noticed in the footnote is obviously the correct one, and not *machchhaka*° adopted in the text.

[10] *Ibid*. I. 493; other ascetic practices to which they resorted, have been set forth in the *Majjhima-Nikâya* I. 238, and *Dîgha-Nikâya*. For the translation of this passage, see Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 227 ff.

[11] *Jât*. III. 542.

[12] *Aṅguttara-Nikâya*, Vol. I, p. 286; see also Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 71 ff, and Höernle's *Uvâsaga-dasâo*, Appendix II.

[13] *Ante*, Vol. XX, pp. 169 and 364.

[14] *Ep Ind*. Vol. II, p. 272.

[15] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108.

[16] *Ante*, Vol. XLI, p. 89.

[17] *Divyâvadâna*, by Cowell and Neil, p. 247.

The *Amarakosha*[18] speaks of five kinds of *saṁnyâsins*, among whom Maskarins are mentioned. It is worth noting that the word *maskarin* occurs also in Pâṇini's *sûtra* ; मस्कर-मस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः (VI. 1. 154). According to Pâṇini, Maskarin was thus a Parivrâjaka. Patañjali's gloss on this *sûtra* is as follows : न वै मस्करोऽस्यास्तीति मस्करी परिव्राजकः। किं तर्हि। मा कृत कर्माणि मा कृत कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसीत्याहातो मस्करी परिव्राजकः॥ On the same *sûtra*, the *Kâśikâ* has the following : परिव्राजकेऽपि माङ्युपपदे करोतेस्ताच्छील्य इनिर्निपात्यते। माङो ह्रस्वत्वं सुट् च तथैव। माकरणशीलो मस्करी कर्मापवादित्वात्परिव्राजक उच्यते। स त्वेवमाह। मा कुरुत कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसीति॥ Kaiyaṭa's *Pradîpa* on Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya* gives the following : मा कृतेति अयं मा कृत अयं, मा कृतेत्युपक्रम्य शान्तितः काम्यकर्मपरिहाणिर्युष्माकं श्रेयसीत्युपदेष्टा मस्करीत्युच्यते। माङ्पूर्वात्करोतेरिनिः सुडागमो माङो ह्रस्वश्च निपात्यते॥ Thus, according to Patañjali, a Maskarin was called Maskarin, because he said मा कृत कर्माणि etc. *i.e.,* "don't perform actions, don't perform actions; quietism (alone) is desirable to you." Now the only sect of ascetics who believed in the inefficacy of action was the Âjîvikas. Their precept: *n=atthi kammaṁ n=atthi kiriyaṁ n=atthi viriyam* has been quoted above. The same doctrine has been set forth at greater length in *Sâmañña-phala sutta* of the *Dîgha-Nikâya,* from which the following may be cited : "The attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend either on one's own acts, or on the acts of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour."[19] It will thus be seen that the Maskarins as described by Patañjali can be no other than Âjîvakas. This receives confirmation from two sources. First, Gosâla, one of the founders of the Âjîvaka sect, is in the Buddhist texts called Makkhali, which undoubtedly is the Pâli form of Maskarin. Secondly, the verse from the *Jânakî-haraṇa,* to which allusion has been made above, runs thus :

दम्भाजीविकमुत्तुङ्गजटामण्डितमस्तकम्।
कञ्चिन्मस्करिणं सीता ददर्शाश्रममागतम्॥

Here Râvaṇa who approaches Sîtâ in a disguised form is called both Âjîvika and Maskarin, which must, therefore, be taken to be synonymous terms. In the *Bhaṭṭi-kâvya*[20] also Râvaṇa is represented to have come to Sîtâ in the garb of a Maskarin. Among the various characteristics mentioned, that of his being a *śikhin* is specified. From this the commentator Mallinâtha argues that he was a Tridaṇḍin, and not an Ekadaṇḍin, as the latter has no matted hair. But this does not agree with what Utpala says, for, as we have seen above, he gives Ekadaṇḍin as a synonym of Âjîvika. The word *śikhin* of the *Bhaṭṭi-kâvya,* however, agrees with the *uttuṅga-jaṭâ°* of the *Jânakî-haraṇa,* and as the latter calls an Âjîvika a Maskarin, it appears that an Âjîvika was really a Tridaṇḍin, and not an Ekadaṇḍin as Utpala supposes.

THE ADITYAS.

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THE Âdityas play an important part in the Vedic sacrifices and seem to occupy the foremost rank among the Vedic gods. Their exact nature is, however, little understood. Sometimes they are said to be six[1] in number, and at other times seven[2] or eight[3], the eighth being described as 'half-born.' In the *Brâhmaṇas* they are said to be twelve month-gods[4]. Whether six, seven, or eight, they are undoubtedly very ancient Vedic gods, for some of them, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Indra, for example, go as far back as the Indo-Iranian period, and are the gods of the Zend-Avesta. Hence an attempt to find out their exact nature will not be useless.

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18 Cap. VII. v. 42. 19 Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 71 ff. 20 Canto V. vs. 61-63.

1 R. V. ii. 27, 1. 2 R. V. IX. 114, 3.

3 R. V. X. 72, 8, 9 ; Tai. Br. I. 1, 9, 1. 4 Sat. Br. XI. 6, 3, 8.

The conception of their being month-gods does not seem to be unfounded. But the months, of which they are said to be lords, are not ordinary consecutive months, but intercalary months of the five-years cycle. To prove this it is necessary to know the nature of the five-years cycle, as explained in the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* itself. The passage (I, 10, 8) in which it is described runs as follows :—

प्राणेभ्यो वै ताः प्रजाः प्राजायंत. प्राणा वा एतानि नव हवींषि. नव हि प्राणाः आत्मा देवता ततः प्रजायते. नव प्रयाजा नवानुयाजा द्वा आज्यभागा अष्टौ हवींष्यग्नये समवद्यति. वाजिनो यजति. तत्त्रिंशत् त्रिंशदक्षरा विराट् विराजेव प्रतितिष्ठति. विराजो वै योनेः प्रजापतिः प्रजा असृजत. विराजो वा एतद्योनेर्यजमानः प्रजायते. त्रिंशत्त्रिंशद्वै रात्रयो मासः. यो मासः स संवत्सरः. सवत्सरः प्रजापतिः. तत्प्रजापतेश्च वा एत द्विराजश्च योनेर्मिथुनाद्यजमानः प्रजायता. एकैकया वा आहुत्या द्वादश द्वादश रात्रीरयुवत. ता यावतीः संख्याने तावतीः संवत्सरस्य रात्रयः. संवत्सरमेव भ्रातृव्यायुवते. वैश्वदेवेन चतुरो मासोऽयुवत. वरुणप्रघासैः परांश्चतुरः. साकमेधैः परांश्चतुरः. तानेव भ्रातृव्याद्युवत. ऋतुयाजी वा अन्यश्चातुर्मास्ययाज्यन्यः. यो वसंतोऽभूत्प्रावृडभूच्छरदभूदिति यजते स ऋतुयाजी. अथ यस्त्रयोदशं मासं संपादयति त्रयोदशं मासमभियजते स चातुर्मास्ययाजी. ऋजूस्त्रीनिष्ट्वा चतुर्थमुत्सृजेत. ऋजू द्वौ परा इष्ट्वा तृतीयमुत्सृजेत. ये वै त्रयस्संवत्सरास्तेषां षट्त्रिंशत्पूर्णमासाः. यौ द्वौ तयोश्चतुर्विंशतिः. तद्येऽमी षट्त्रिंशत्यधि तानस्यां चतुर्विंशत्यामुपसंपादयति एष वाव स त्रयोदशो मासः तमेवैनत्संपादयति. तमभियजते. वैश्वदेवेन येजेत पशुकामः न वरुणप्रघासैर्न साकमेधैः. सर्वो वै पुरुषः साहस्रो जायते यावत्तरसं त्वेवेति. प्रजननं वा एतद्धविर्यद्वैश्वदेवं. यद्वैश्वदेवेन यजते प्रजननाय वा एतद्यजते स्वां मात्रां गच्छानीति. स यदा सहस्रं पशून्गच्छेदथ वरुणप्रघासैर्यजते. यदवादः सहस्रमगंस्तस्यैनदंहोऽवयजति. *M. S.* I, 10, 8.

" From vital breaths are those creatures born. Vital breaths are these nine oblations, for nine are the Vital breaths. Âtmâ [the inner man] is the deity. From him (*the deity*) is (*the sacrificer*) born. Nine fore-offerings, nine after-offerings, two butter portions, and eight oblations, he puts together for Agni. He makes the oblation of curdled milk (*vâjina*). That amounts to thirty.[5] The Virâṭ metre consists of thirty syllables. By means of the Virâṭ, he has a firm footing; for Prajâpati created the creatures from the womb of Virâṭ. From this womb of Virâṭ is also the sacrificer born. Thirty and thirty nights are a month. That which is the month is the year. Prajâpati is the year. From the womb of the couple, Prajâpati and Virâṭ, is the sacrificer born. With each oblation he inserts twelve and twelve nights. There are, when counted, as many oblations as there are nights in a year. He separates[6] the year from the enemy. With the Vaiśvadêva sacrifice he inserts four months; with the Varuṇapraghâsa sacrifice, the next four months; with the Sâkamêdha sacrifice, the next four. These are the months which he has separated from the enemy. He who sacrifices for the seasons is one, while he who sacrifices for the four-months is another : he who sacrifices for the reason that that which was the spring has become the rains, and that which was the rainy season has become the autumn, is a sacrificer for the seasons. But he who gains a thirteenth month, and sacrifices for that thirteenth month, is the one who sacrifices for the four-months. Having sacrificed for three regular (*months*), he should omit the fourth; and then having sacrificed for the next two regular (*months*), he should omit the third. What are counted as three years, there are in them thirty-six full moons; what are counted as the next two, there are in them twenty-four. Those (*days*) which exceed (*an intercalary month*) in thirty-six full moons, he puts in (*the next*) twenty-four full moons. This is, verily, that thirteenth month. This is what he gains and sacrifices for. He who is desirous of cattle should observe the Vaiśvadêva sacrifice, but neither the Varuṇapraghâsa nor the Sâkamêdha. All the Purusha amounts to a thousand when counted together as far as the flesh-oblation (*Tarasa*). The oblation made in the Vaiśvadêva sacrifice is, verily, the birth (*of creatures*). The reason for which he sacrifices with the Vaiśvadêva is the birth of creatures, for which he sacrifices with the thought

[5] It is only twenty-eight or twenty-nine if milk is included. The Tai Brâhmaṇa (I, 6, 3) counts two *Âghâras*, portions of clarified butter to make up thirty.

[6] The root '*yu*' means both *miśraṇa and amiśraṇa*, 'insertion' and 'separation.'

that he may attain his own measure. When he comes by a thousand cattle, then he should sacrifice with the Varuṇapraghâsa. When he comes by a thousand of this, then he gets rid of his sin by means of sacrifice."

Omitting the sacrificial technicalities with which the above passage abounds, we may confine our attention to that portion of the passage where a distinction is drawn between the Season-sacrificer and the Four-monthly sacrificer, and where the nature of the three Four-monthly sacrifices, the Vaiśvadêva, the Varuṇapraghâsa, and the Sâkamêdha is clearly defined. It is clear from this passage that during the Vedic period there were two important schools of priestly astronomers, the Season-sacrificers and the Four-monthly sacrificers. Of these two schools, one seems to have been observing the lunar year of 354 days without adjusting it to the solar or sidereal year, and to have allowed it to fall back by $11\frac{1}{4}$ or 12 days in every year and to regain its original initial point at the close of 32 or 30 years, making a full rotation through the seasons. This is what is meant by the expression that what was the spring became the summer, and that what was the summer became the autumn. The priests who were sacrificing for such rotating seasons are called Ritu-yâjins, 'Season-sacrificers'. The other school of sacrificers called the Châturmâsyâyâjins, 'Four-monthly sacrificers', did not like the Season-sacrificers, allow the year to fall back for want of intercalation, but adjusted their lunar year of 354 days to the sidereal year of 366 days by adding two months in five years or four months in ten years. From the reference made to twelve days in the beginning of the passage, it is clear that it is the sidereal year of 366 days that is taken for adjustment with the lunar year of 354 days. Accordingly the extra days in three lunar years amount to thirty-six days, *i.e.*, one month and six days. These six days, says the author, are to be added to the twenty-four days of the subsequent twenty-four full-moons or two years. From the statement that whoever gains a thirteenth month is a Four-monthly sacrificer, it is clear that the three Châturmâsyas or Four-months are undoubtedly three intercalary periods of four months each. I have pointed out in my *Vedic Calendar* how the vedic poets regarded the intercalary days or months as enemies and as sinful periods infested with demons. This is what the writer means when he says that the sacrificer has to separate the Châturmâsyas, the Four-months, from the enemy. The meaning of a thousand cattle seems to be this :—In ten sidereal years of 366 days each there are 120 months of 30 days each and four intercalary months of 30 days. Each ordinary month was made to consist of five week-periods of six days each. The days in each such week, except the last in each month, were called *gô*, *jyôtis*, *Âyus*, *Âyus*, *gô*, and *jyôtis*. Of these names, the word *gô* means 'a cow', *i.e.*, 'cattle.' Since there are two cows in each 'week,' there are eight cows or cattle in each month. Hence the number of cattle in 120 ordinary months will be $120 \times 8 = 960$. In the intercalary months even the last 'week' appears to be counted, as well as the first four 'weeks.' Accordingly, in the four intercalary months there are $4 \times 10 = 40$ cow-days. Hence the number of cow-days or cattle in ten years, when the Vaiśvadêva or first Four-monthly sacrifice was performed, amounts $960 + 40 = 1000$. This appears to be the meaning of the expression that when the sacrificer counts a thousand cattle after the Vaiśvadêva period, he has to perform the Varuṇapraghâsa. What is meant by the expression that Purusha amounts to a thousand will be explained later on.

It appears that when the three Four-monthly periods were got rid of by intercalation, the Vedic poets used to renew their sacred fire by churning anew. This idea is conveyed in the following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (I. 10, 7) :—

त्रेधा विहितानि चातुर्मास्यानि. संवत्सरं वै चातुर्मास्यानि. संवत्सरेणाग्निं मंथति.

"Three are the Four-monthly sacrifices to be performed. To a year (*amount the three*) Four-monthly periods. In such a year [*i.e.*, once in thirty years] the sacrificer churns the fire [*i.e.*, sets up the sacrificial fire again]."

It is not to be understood that the Vedic poets were adjusting the lunar year to the sidereal year by intercalating four months once in ten years alone. Since a thirteenth month is frequently mentioned in the *Vêdas*, we may believe that they were adjusting the years once in two and a half years, when one intercalary month occurs. It is, therefore, likely that whenever a thirteenth month is mentioned, half a cycle of five luni-solar years is meant. The following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (I. 5, 6) refers to a thirteenth month and the form of the sacrifice performed in it :—

जीर्यति वा एष आहितः पशुर्ह्यग्निः. तदेतान्येवाग्न्याधेयस्य हवींषि संवत्सरे संवत्सरे निर्वपेत्. तेन वा एष न जीर्यति तेनैनं पुनर्णवं करोति. तन्न सूक्ष्यम्. एताभिरेवाग्नेयपावमानीभिः अग्न्याधेयस्य याज्यानुवाक्याभिरुपस्थेयः. तेन वा एष न जीर्यति. तेनैनं पुनर्णवं करोति. द्वादशाभिरुपतिष्ठते द्वादश मासाः संवत्सरः संवत्सरमेवाप्त्वावरुंधे. अग्नीषोमीयया त्रयोदश्युपस्थेयोऽस्ति मासस्त्रयोदशः तमे वै तयाप्त्वावरुंधे.

"When once set up, he becomes old ; for Agni is (*like*) a beast. Hence he should offer, year after year, these oblations of the Agnyâdhêya rite. He does not thereby grow old. The sacrificer renews him thereby. This (*way of renewing the fire*) is not well-considered. The sacrificer should simply praise the fire with the Yâjya and Anuvâkya hymns called Âgnêya-pâvamâni, used in the Agnyâdhêya rite. Thereby he does not become old. Thereby the sacrificer renews him. The sacrificer praises him with twelve verses, for there are twelve months in the year. Thus he catches hold of the year and keeps it. He is to be praised with a thirteenth verse dedicated to Agni and Sôma, for there is the thirteenth month also. With this verse he catches hold of that month and keeps it."

The last line of the passage given above leaves no doubt that there was also the custom of observing or intercalating a single month. I presume that the Darśa and Pûrṇamâsa or new and full moon sacrifices, described in the beginning of the Yajurvêda, are no other than sacrifices performed during an intercalary month, for the gods worshipped in those sacrifices are the gods that are worshipped during the intercalary month.[7] The following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (I. 5, 7) confirms this view :—

अग्नीषोमीयया पूर्वपक्ष उपस्थेयः अग्नीषोमीयो वै पूर्वपक्षः अपरपक्षायैवैनं परिददाति. ऐंद्राग्न्यापरपक्ष उपस्थेयः ऐंद्राग्नो वा अपर पक्षः पूर्वपक्षायैवैनं परिददाति.

"The light half of the month is to be worshipped with the verse dedicated to Agni and Sôma, for the light half of the month belongs to Agni and Sôma. Thereby he transfers the light half to the dark half of the month. With the verse dedicated to Indra and Agni the dark half of the month is to be worshipped; for the dark half belongs to Indra and Agni. Thereby he transfers the dark half to the light half of the month."

According to the passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (I. 5, 6) previously quoted above, Agni and Sôma are the chief gods in the sacrifice of a thirteenth month. According to this other passage (I. 5, 7) Agni and Sôma are the gods in light half, and Indra and Agni in the dark half of the month. It follows, therefore, that the month referred to in the above passage must be one of an intercalary nature. Since the same are the gods in the new and full moon sacrifices, we may take these also to be sacrifices performed during an intercalary month. Since the Atharvavêda (V. 6, 4) assigns the thirteenth month to Indra (त्रयोदशो मास इंद्रस्य गृहः,) "the thirteenth month is the home of Indra"), we shall not be wrong in considering Indra also as one of the chief deities worshipped in a thirteenth month. The following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (II. 1, 3) furnishes additional evidence about the same fact :—

अग्नीषोमाभ्यां वै वीर्येणेंद्रो वृत्रमहन्. स ओजसा वीर्येण व्यार्धत्. स एतमैंद्राग्नमपश्यत्. तेन ओजो वीर्यमात्मन्नधत्त.

[7] See *Âśvalâyana Srauta Sûtra* I. 3, 9 and 10 ; and *Sâṅkhâyana Srauta Sûtra* I. 3, 14 and 15.

"Indra killed Vṛitra with the power of Agni and Sôma. Hence he grew with brightness and strength. He saw the power of Indra and Agni also. Thereby he kept brightness and strength in himself."

The connection of Vṛitra with Agni and Sôma, the gods of an intercalary month, will be explained later on. That intercalary months were being observed, either singly or in sets of two, three, or four months, is clear from the following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (I. 11, 10):—

वसवस्त्रयोदशाक्षरया त्रयोदशं मासमुदजयन्. रुद्राश्चतुर्दशाक्षरया चतुर्दशं मासमुदजयन्. आदित्याः पंचदशाक्षरया पंचदशं मासमुदजयन्. अदितिष्षोडशाक्षरया षोडशं मासमुदजयत्.

"The Vasus conquered the thirteenth month with a verse of thirteen syllables. The Rudras conquered the fourteenth month with a verse of fourteen syllables. The Âdityas conquered the fifteenth month with a verse of fifteen syllables. Aditi conquered the sixteenth month with a verse of sixteen syllables."

Since in this passage a year of 12 months is referred to before speaking of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and other months, I take them to be of an intercalary nature. There is no reason to believe that the Vedic poets were counting thirteen or sixteen ordinary months in a year, though they were acquainted with the luni-solar cycle of 5 years, as pointed out above. The following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇiya Saṁhitâ* (I. 10, 5) leaves no doubt that Indra is a god of an intercalary month:—

देवाश्च वा असुराश्चास्मिंल्लोके आसन्. स प्रजापतिरकामयत प्रासुरान्नुदेय प्रजाः सृजेयेति. स चातुर्मास्यान्यपश्यत्. चातुर्मास्यैर्वै सोऽसुरान्प्राणुदत चातुर्मास्यैः प्रजा असृजत. तद्य एवं विद्वांश्चातुर्मास्यैर्यजते प्र भ्रातृव्यं नुदते प्र प्रजया च पशुभिश्च जायते. अग्निष्टोमाद्वैश्वदेवं यज्ञक्रतुं निर्माय प्रजापतिः प्रजा असृजत. उकथ्याद्वरुणप्रघासान्यज्ञक्रतुं निर्मायेमाः प्रजा वरुणेनाग्राहयत्. अतिरात्रात्साकमेधान्यज्ञक्रतुं निर्मायेंद्रो वृत्रमहन्. सृष्टा वा अन्याः प्रजा आसन्नसृष्टा अन्याः अथ प्रजापतिरकामयत प्रजास्सृजेयेति. संवत्सरो वै यज्ञो यज्ञः प्रजापतिः स एते पयसी आत्मन्नधत्तोधन्यं च बाह्यं च अथैताभ्यो देवताभ्या एतानि हवींषि भागं निरवपत्. तैः प्रजा असृजत. ऋतुभ्यो वै ताः प्रजाः प्राजायंत. ऋतवो वा एतानि पंच हवींषि.

M. S. I. 10, 5.

"The Dêvas and the Asuras were in this world together. Prajâpati desired that he might drive out the Asuras and create children. He looked to the 'Four-months;' for it is by the 'Four-months' that he drove out the Asuras and created children. Whoever, knowing thus, performs the sacrifice of 'Four-months,' will drive out his enemy and get both children and cattle.

"Creating the Vaiśvadêva sacrifice on the model of the Agnishṭôma, Prajâpati created children; and creating the Varuṇa-praghâsa sacrifice on the model of the Ukthya, he put these children under the clutches of Varuṇa. Creating the Sâkamêdha sacrifice on the model of the Atirâtra sacrifice, Indra killed Vṛitra. The children that were created became of one kind, while those that were not created became of another. Then Prajâpati desired that he might create children. The year is the sacrifice, and sacrifice is Prajâpati. He kept in himself this pair, the year and the sacrifice, (*like two kinds of*) milk, that which is produced from the udder and that which is external. Then to these gods he offered the following oblations as a share, and created children from them: from the seasons were those children born. The seasons are the five oblations."

From this passage we can understand the technical sense in which the words *Dêva*, *Asura*, and *Prajâs*, are commonly used in the Vedas. In the terminology of the Vedic poets the name of the ordinary days of a year is *prajâḥ*, 'children.'[8] I have pointed out in my notes in the *Vedic Calendar*, *ante*, p. 52, how the Vedic poets regarded the intercalary months as Asuras, demons. It follows therefore that the word Dêva as opposed to Asura

[8] R. V. I., 164; A. V. IX, 8.

must mean an ordinary month or days. Accordingly, we may interpret the conflict between the Dêvas and the Asuras as denoting some inconsistency between the ordinary and the intercalary months. That the words, *Dêva*, *Asura*, and *Prajâ*, have such meanings as the above, is confirmed by the above passage: We are told in the passage that Prajâpati or Father Time repelled the Asuras by means of the Châturmâsyas, a period of four intercalary months, as pointed out above—and that having done so, he created children. This evidently means that Prajâpati got rid of the extra months by intercalating four months in ten years, and, adjusting thereby the lunar to the sidereal year, brought the seasons and days to their usual position which was four months behind before intercalation. We also learn that Indra is a god of an intercalary month, and that the oft-repeated destruction of Vṛitra by Indra is an act of getting rid of the sinful and demon-like intercalary months through the worship of Indra and other gods; for we are told in the passage that Indra killed Vṛitra by the Sâkamêdha, or the sacrifice performed during the third period of the four intercalary months, *i. e.*, at the end of 30 or 60 years.

From a consideration of the passage explained above, we learn that Prajâpati is Father Time, that his children are the ordinary days of the year, that the Asuras are the sinful intercalary months, and that Indra is a god of an intercalary month. We know from the story of Aditi that Indra is one of her sons. Accordingly, we may take Aditi to mean the cycle of five luni-solar years, bringing forth Indra periodically along with her other sons. The other sons also must necessarily be the gods of intercalary months. This idea is, as clearly as the sacrificial terminology of the poets could permit, conveyed in the following passage of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* (I.6,12):—

यस्या रात्र्याः प्रातरग्निमाधास्यमानः स्यात्तां रात्रीं चतुश्शरावमोदनं पक्त्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यो जीवतण्डुलमिवोपहरेत्. अदितिर्वै प्रजाकामौदनमपचत्. सोच्छिष्टमाश्नात्. तस्या धाता चार्यमा चाजायेतां. सापरमपचत्. सोच्छिष्टमाश्नात्. तस्या मित्रश्च वरुणश्चाजायेताम्. सापरमपचत्. सोच्छिष्टमाश्नात्. तस्या अंशश्च भगश्चाजायेताम्. सापरमपचत्. सैक्षतोच्छिष्टं मेऽश्नन्त्या द्वौ द्वौ जायेते. इतो नूनं मे श्रेयः स्याद्यत्पुरस्तादश्नीयामिति सा पुरस्तादशित्वोपाहरत्. ता अंतरेव गर्भः संता अवदताम् इदं भविष्यावो यदादित्या इति. तस्योः आदित्या निर्हंतारमैधन्. ता अंशश्च भगश्च निरहताम्. तस्मादेतौ यज्ञेन यजंते. अंशप्रासोंऽशस्य भागधेयं जनं भगोऽगधत्. तस्मादाहुर्जनो गंतव्यः तत्र भगेन संगधता इति. स वा इंद्र ऊर्ध्वं एव प्राणमनूदश्रयत. मृतमितरमाण्डमवापद्यत. स वाव मार्ताण्डो यस्येमे मनुष्याः प्रजा. सा वा अदितिरादित्यानुपाधावत्. अस्त्वेव म इदं माम इदं मोघे परापप्तदिति. तेऽब्रुवन् अथैषोऽस्माकमेव ब्रवातै न नोऽतिमन्यता इति स वाव विवस्वानादित्यो यस्य मनुश्च वैवस्वतो यमश्च. मनुरेवास्मिंल्लोके यमोऽमुष्मिन् एते वै देवयानान्पथो गोपायंति यदादित्याः त इयक्षमाणं प्रतिंनुदंते. यो वा एतेभ्योऽप्रोच्याग्निमाधत्ते तमेते स्वर्गाल्लोकात्प्रतिनुदंता उच्छिष्टभागा वा आदित्याः यदुच्छिष्टे विवर्तयित्वा समिध आदधाति तदादित्येभ्योऽग्न्याधेयं प्राह. नैनं स्वर्गाल्लोकात्प्रतिनुदंते. संवत्सरमुत्सृजेताग्निमाधास्यमानो नास्याग्निं गृहाद्धरेयुर्नान्यता आहरेयुः. संवत्सरे वृद्धा गर्भाःप्रजायंते प्रजातमेनं वृद्धमाधत्ते. द्वादश रातीरुत्सृजेत द्वादश वै रात्रयः संवत्सरस्य प्रतिमा. संवत्सरे वृद्धा गर्भाः प्रजायंते प्रजातमेनं वृद्धमाधत्ते. तिस्र उत्सृजेत. त्रयो वा इमे लोकाः. इमानेव लोकानाप्नोति. एकामुत्सृजेत एको वै प्रजापतिः.

M. S. I, 6, 12.

"During that night on the morrow of which he is going to set up the sacred fire, he should cook four dishes of rice and present them to Brâhmans as fresh rice. Desirous of getting children, Aditi cooked the rice. She ate the remnant (*of what remained after the gods partook of the dish*). Two sons, Dhâtâ and Aryamâ, were in consequence born of her. She cooked another (*dish*), and ate the remnant. Two sons, Mitra and Varuṇa, were in consequence born of her. She cooked another (*dish*), and ate the remnant. Two sons, Aṁśa and Bhaga, were in consequence born of her. She cooked another (*dish*). She thought that in consequence of her eating the remnant, two

and two sons are being born of her; and that it would indeed be to her advantage if she would eat it before (*presenting it to the gods*). Accordingly, having previously eaten it, she offered the remnant (*to the gods*). The seeds, still remaining in the embryo form, said: 'We shall become what the Âdityas are.' The Âdityas on the other hand looked for a murderer of those two. Aṁśa and Bhaga struck them. Hence sacrificers worship these two in their sacrifices. Aṁśa-prâsa became the portion due to Aṁśa in sacrifices. Bhaga went to the people. Hence they say that if one is desirous of getting wealth, one should go to somebody among men. That Indra, however, got up and recovered his breath. The other egg appeared as dead. He is, verily, the Mârtâṇḍa (*broken egg*) whose children are men. Aditi then went to the Adityas and said: 'Let this one be to me, but not the other which has fallen lifeless. They said: 'Then let it be to ourselves, as we say; do not despise us.' He is, verily, the Aditya, the Vivasvat, whose offspring are Manu, the Vaivasvata, and Yama, the Vaivasvata. Manu is in this world, and Yama in the other. These are the Âdityas who guard the paths through which gods move. They drive away that sacrificer who sets up his sacred fire without calling upon them: they drive him away from the heavens. The Âdityas are, verily, the portions of the remnant. When a sacrificer puts the sacred sticks into the fire after rotating them in the remnant, then he may be taken to have spoken to the Âdityas of his setting up of the sacred fire. Him they do not throw away from the heavens. He who is going to set up the sacred fire should *omit* a year (*i. e.*, intercalate a year). He should not bring his fire from a household or from any other place. Embryos [due to the remnant, *i. e.*, the twelve days at the end of the sidereal year of 366 days], developed in the course of the year are born. When the embryo is born and fully developed, the sacrificer sets it up (*while setting up the sacred fire*). Twelve nights he has to omit (*in a year*); for twelve nights are the index (*pratimâ*) of the year. Embryos [*i. e.*, the twelve days] developed (*in the form of months*) in the course of (*the cyclic*) year are born. When it is born and fully developed, he sets it up [*i. e.*, intercalates while setting up the sacred fire]. He should omit three, for three are the worlds; these world's he will thereby attain. He should omit one, for one is the Prajâpati."

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON AJIVIKAS.

I read, *ante*, pp. 88ff, the article on Âjîvikas by K. B. Pathak, who opines that they are a sect of Buddhist Bhikshus. D. R. B.'s bracketed note at the end of this article that they are neither Buddhist Bhikshus as Mr. Pathak says, nor Jainas as Dr. Hultzsch understands, but they form a distinct sect, seems to be borne out by other evidences. We have one given, *ante*, Vol. XXIII, p. 248, 1894 (which I have quoted in full on page 960, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, October 1911), of which the following extract is to the point:—

"The essentials may, however, be stated. They are (1) that the recovery of the Vaikhânasa *Dharma-Sûtra* permits me to fully prove the correctness of Professor Kern's (or rather Kâlakâchârya's and Utpala's) identification of the *Âjîvikas* with the *Bhâgavatas*, and (2) that the sacred books of the Buddhists contain passages showing that the origin of the *Bhâgavatas* was traditionally believed to fall in very remote times, and that this tradition is supported by indications contained in Brahmanical works."

One such passage contained in an orthodox Buddhist book, the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarîka*,[1] as showing the remoteness of the *Bhâgavata* (*i. e.*, *Âjîvika*) cult, is that where Mañju-Śrî is compared to Nârâyaṇa. The words run thus: " . . . . . and a body compact as Nârâyaṇa's."

A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN, M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., M.M.S.

[Who the Âjîvikas really were was shown by me ten years ago in a note published in the *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, p. 399 ff. The same note has been reprinted in a slightly altered form in this number on p. 286 ff.—D-R.B.]

[1] S. B. E. Series, Vol. XVI, chap. XXIII (Gadgada Svara), translated by H. Kern, see p. 397.

MAPS AND ATLASES OF INDIA.

THAT we have no recent Atlas or Map of India on a scale sufficiently large to be readily useful in locating most places mentioned in history and the daily newspapers is somewhat strange. There are small maps, as accurate and full as the best cartographers can produce, but on scales too small to afford satisfactory ideas of distances and areas, or to include hundreds of places to which reference may be required.

Among those of recent date, "Thacker's Reduced Survey Map of India," edited by Dr. J. G. Bartholomew, was issued in 1891. The sheet measures 30 by 36 inches and is also available in folded form with an Index to the ten thousand names appearing on it and representing every place mentioned in the second edition of the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" (1885-87). It is a fine piece of cartography to a scale of 69 miles or one degree of latitude to an inch; but the crowding of so many names in so small a space requires so minute etching that it often strains the eye to locate and read them. If we reduce the map of England to the same scale, it measures only 6 inches by 5, and how many of the place names could be entered upon it in legible script? But much of India is more densely populated even than England; hence the inadequacy of so small a scale for a clear and satisfactory map of India, yet this is one of the best of the kind published.

"Constable's Hand-Atlas of India", published 1893, together with some forty-two small maps of physical, ethnological, meteorological and other features, and plans of towns, prepared by Dr. Bartholomew, gave the foregoing map in eighteen sections, together with the Index adapted to them. These sectional maps measure little over 6 by 8 inches each, so that, on the scale of 69 miles to an inch, each of them represents an area of about 560 by 420 miles, or 235,000 square miles, an area that would include the maps of both England and Ireland on the like scale. This volume is so compact and full of valuable details that it is the best as yet available to the student; and the 'Hand Gazetteer' of the same publishers supplies the geographical positions of over seventeen thousand place-names.

In the "xxth Century Citizen's Atlas", the same map is again utilized in three 'sections' and a map of Farther India, each map measuring 16 by 12 inches.

An "Atlas of India" containing sixteen maps and an Index of nearly ten thousand names appearing on the maps, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. Hunter, was next published by W. and A. K. Johnston, 1894. The volume measures 12 by 8¼ inches and the maps 9 by 12 inches within the borders, providing for a scale of 1 to 3,225,000 or 50·9 miles to an inch. This larger scale gives about twice the area for the same number of names as in the preceding, and district boundaries are well defined. The fourteen principal maps (omitting the Index map and the plans of cities) are not simply 'sections' of country, but represent separate provinces and groups of adjoining states.

Following this was the 'Map of the Indian Empire' by the late E. G. Ravenstein, on a scale of 1 to 5,000,000 or an inch to 79 miles nearly, and was published by G. Philip and Sons. The sheet, with insets, measured 33 by 39 inches, and was finely engraved, the number of towns and villages entered being considerable. The same publishers also issued 'Philips' Gazetteer of India (1900) by E. G. Ravenstein, containing a list of about 13,500 names of towns, villages, railway stations, valleys, hills, tahsils, etc., with the approximate geographical positions only to tenths of a degree. This 'Gazetteer,' we are told was "intended as a companion to the *Atlas of India.*" But this projected Atlas was given up. This map has quite recently been re-issued in two sheets with Index of about 4,000 place names in folding case, as one of Messrs. Philips' Travelling Maps.

The new edition of the "Imperial Gazetteer" was naturally expected to be accompanied by an Atlas planned on a scale more adapted to the area of so populous a territory. Sir W. W. Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal" was accompanied by nineteen district maps—some of double size—on a uniform scale of 16 miles to an inch. As many maps on half the scale would have supplied an atlas of all India, showing most towns of importance or historical interest. But instead of such a boon, and simply to make the Atlas range in height with the octavo volumes of the Gazetteer, the eighteen provincial maps are on a scale of 63·1 miles to an inch or one to 4,000,000 and measure only 9 by 7¼ inches. To avoid overcrowding, the names on these eighteen and a map of Afghanistan are reduced to scarcely 6,700,—or hardly two thirds of the number in the Gazetteer. With the twenty-eight small physical and other general maps and sixteen plans of towns, no fault is found: they are admirably executed and serve their various purposes instructively. It is the general maps that are altogether disappointing. As a map of England on this scale would measure 6½ by 5¼ inches and proportionately might contain only about 200 place names, it would be comparatively

useless,—of what general utility can a map of India be on so very small a scale?

For so vast a territory, a very large scale map or series of maps is not here advocated. For most European countries, maps on a scale of between 30 and 35 miles to an inch are most satisfactory. And so long ago as 1836 the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge had published on a scale of 34·4 miles to an inch—"India in eleven parts with an Index Map." These were 'sectional' maps, engraved by the brothers James and Charles Walker, and were beautifully clear and useful. The work seems to have been well received, for a revised edition was issued by E. Stanford, 1842-45, containing some twenty maps—including surrounding countries; and again, a last and carefully corrected and improved edition, containing twenty-six maps was published by the same firm in 1861. This useful work continued long in use, and it is to be regretted that such a work was not kept up to date and reproduced. The maps varied little in size from 13 by 10 inches inside borders, and so had double the area of those in the new Gazetteer Atlas; and the thin bound volume was about 14 inches high by 9″ wide.

Decimal scales are now the fashion for maps,[1] but with our units of the inch and mile, they afford no facilities for estimating distances. The Indian Great Trigonometrical Survey sheets are on a 4 miles to the inch scale, and any map on this scale, or its subdivisions of 8, 16, etc., miles, affords a ready means of estimating distances. Making the scales as measures of a degree of latitude is similarly inconvenient, whilst it is slightly inaccurate, since these degrees vary with the distance from the equator—from 68·7 to 69·4 statute miles.

It is now understood that the Indian Survey has agreed to proceed in preparing a map, or series of sheets covering India, on a scale of one-millionth,—that is of 15 miles 6 furlongs 57¾ yards to an inch. But this will take years to complete, and though most valuable for certain purposes, it will fill sixty sheets or thereabouts of 20 by 16 inches and rather expensive and cumbrous for general use. Meanwhile a less ambitious but practically useful work is much wanted in the library and at the desk—for the general reader, the traveller, the secretary and the district official.

Now such an atlas could be constructed on a scale of 32 miles to an inch; the maps would be on the scheme of Johnston's and the Gazetteer atlas,—not mere sectional, maps, but of provinces or halves of such in some cases. They would fill only eighteen or nineteen double page maps of a size that would bind in a volume about 11 by 16½ inches. The space for names, etc., would be double that on Johnston's and four times that on the Gazetteer maps, thus providing for a very large increase of their numbers. The work might be accompanied by useful small maps of physical, meteorological, ethnographical, and other features, plans of towns, etc., of which the largest would go two on a page. Shall we see such an Atlas?

J. B.

BOOK-NOTICE.

HISTORY OF BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE by DINESH CHANDRA SEN. Printed by the Calcutta University, 1911.

THIS is a large work of more than a thousand pages, based on the lectures delivered by the author as Reader in Bengali Language and Literature at the Calcutta University during the months January to April 1909, and deals with the literature of Bengal and the language in its literary aspect down to the middle of last century. It is clear on every page that the work has been one of great devotion on the author's part, and he has made diligent enquiries to trace out all particulars, whether great or small, that might help to increase or elucidate our knowledge of the literature.

One striking feature that he discloses is that the early literature was not the expression of poetical ideas by the then cultured classes, nor was it composed by them for the people at large, because those classes were enthralled by Sanskrit learning and fell afterwards under the influence of the Arabic and Persian literature of their Mohammedan patrons; but it was the welling up of the poetic feelings that swayed the hearts and minds of the populace, feelings that did not flow within classical channels, but arose generally from and mirrored home life and daily interests.

In the first chapter the earliest conditions in Bengal are idealised in the belief that pre-historic Bengal was Aryan, a belief for which the author's devotion may merit pardon. Ancient Bengal

[1] Scales in millionths are related to the metrical system,—the metre being supposed to be exactly the ten millionth part of the quadrant from the Equator to the Pole. This is now found to be very nearly 10,001,776 metres, so that the metre is shorter than was intended.

really came but partially within the pale of Aryan influence, and that was no doubt the reason why it was treated as foreign in Manu's Code, and its language regarded as a Paiśâchî Prakrit unfit for literary use. The author shows that it was largely through the interest evinced by Muhammadan rulers that the great Sanskrit epics were translated and appeared in Bengali verse in the 14th century. It was not to Brahmans nor to Hindus versed in Sanskrit classics that Bengali was indebted for early favours, but the earliest Bengali compositions are attributed to the zeal of Tantric Buddhists to popularise their creed in the 10th and 11th centuries, and they enunciate homely proverbial philosophy in Buddhistic form.

Among early compositions are the *Dharma-mangal* poems, songs recounting the exploits of Lâu Sen and extolling the god Dharma, who represented originally the popular idea of Buddha; but when those songs achieved a wide popularity, Brahmanism, after it overcame Buddhism, recast them so thoroughly that they appear now to be devoted to the Śâkta cult. The high moral discipline of Buddhism gradually degenerated into general half-sceptical self-indulgence, and indulgence when stimulated by Vaishṇava views of religious love turned to extravagant courses of licentiousness. This phase in its idealistic and spiritual aspect is illustrated in the poems of Chaṇḍî Dâs (end of 14th century) which express homely fervour in pastoral guise, and in those of Vîdyâpati in Behâr in the 15th century. On the other hand, Mahâyânism conduced to the worship of local deities, and popular feeling turned towards the minor deities and especially goddesses, that were esteemed locally, from about the 9th century, so that their worship soon grew i popularity and found expression in songs that sprang from the people themselves. Many poems were composed in their honour in and after the 12th century. Chief among those deities were Manasâ, the snake-goddess, who is extolled in the touching story of Behulâ in the *Manasâ-mangal* composed by Haridatta; and Chaṇḍî Devî, to whose power two well-known stories bore testimony, which were narrated in many forms and especially in the 16th century poem, the *Chaṇḍî-mangal*, by Mukunda Râm, whose poetry vividly portrays the domestic life of rural Bengal.

Brahmanism aided that revulsion from Buddhist degeneracy by adopting those local deities, and stimulated it by reviving the old stories of the ancient *rishis* and kings with their glamour of semi-divine ideals. The two Purâṇic gods, Vishṇu and Śiva, thus regained popular adoration; and the Brahmans inculcated also the importance of caste. This great change the author calls the Purânic Renaissance, because it expressed itself in the revival of Epic and Purâṇic stories recast in new poems composed in the vernacular tongue to suit popular taste. Such poems were recited through the country by professional singers, the Mangal-gâyaks, who amplified them at times with their own verses. From this period, it seems, may be really dated the rise of Bengali literature.

The *Râmâyaṇa* with its story of Râma and Sîtâ, and the *Mahâbhârata* with those of the Pâṇḍavas and Krishṇa, were of course the treasure houses; and those stories were thrown afresh into Bengali verse in many poems from the 14th century onwards. The poets, while handling their themes correctly, yet narrated them with new vitality and embellished them with descriptions and comparisons borrowed from their own land and associations. Among such versions of the *Râmâyaṇa* the most famous were Krittivâsa's and Raghunandan's poems, while Sañjaya's and Kâśi Râm's compositions best reproduced the *Mahâbhârata*. Two other Sanskrit books freely drawn upon were the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* which described the exploits and majesty of Krishṇa as an incarnation of Vishnu, and the *Chaṇḍî-mâhâtmya* in the *Mârkaṇḍeya-Purâṇa* which excited the admiration of those who revered Chaṇḍî. Śiva did not attain the same prominence as Vishṇu, because, as the author explains, the popular conception of this stern deity did not credit him with any keen interest in his worshippers personally, and in the poems that extolled him he appeared rather with peasant traits amid rural home life.

The author narrates all these stories and gives extracts from the chief poems with English translations, which being in prose naturally lose the spirit of the old Bengali, for the old poetry composed in short rhyming lines often carried terseness to an extreme. He also adds valuable notes, explaining how the Purâṇic Renaissance enriched the old Bengali by introducing and vernacularising many Sanskrit words, and pointing out grammatical peculiarities and words that have since become obsolete. Much of that old literature fell into neglect and often MSS. were lost or perished; still many poems have been rescued from oblivion and published by the Baṭtalâ Press.

It is remarkable how closely the old literature is bound up with religion, for it followed and expressed popular religious sentiments as they varied through the centuries; and indeed the

author classifies it mainly according to its religious aspect. Thus he passes next to the Vaishṇavas, who exercised a widespread and deep influence among the people, for Mahâyânism encouraged religious devotion and facilitated the conversion of many to the worship of Vishṇu, and Vaishṇavism infused new vigour into the doctrine of *bhakti* or loving faith. Chaitanya was the great exponent of this in the early part of the 16th century, and it involved a revolt against the strict system and oppressive ritual which Brahman ascendancy had imposed. Purâṇic ideals lost ground and *bhakti* became the great vivifying influence. He inspired such veneration in his followers, that many accounts of his life were written in prose, which were the first biographies in Bengali; and among them the greatest was the *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita* by Kṛishṇa-dâs. His teachings with Kṛishṇa as their subject were popularised in the *padas* or songs of the Vaishṇavas, which portray human actions, feelings and even questionable passions and yet often suggest a spiritual import. The greatest composer of *padas* was Gobinda-dâs in the 16th century, and he wrote in the Brajabuli dialect, which holds a middle position between Hindi and Bengali, and in which vernacular words were preferred to strict Sanskrit forms. The later writers of the Purâṇic Renaissance marred the freedom of their poetry with classical Sanskrit phrases, but the new poets gave utterance to natural feelings in simple Bengali, with which they were more familiar than some of the older writers, and captivated the ear of the people with their new Manoharsâhi tune. This leads the author to discuss the origin and history of the *kîrtan* songs, and the great importance of the *kathaks* or professional reciters who have existed in India from the earliest times. Their recitations could give a poem wide publicity and permanent fame, and created also a demand for written copies even among rustic folk.

Vaishṇava freedom was adverse to Brahmanic formularism and permeated the people with subversive ideas; yet its influence is found in all the literature after Chaitanya's time and even in the later conceptions of Śaivism and Śâktism. Vaishṇavism, however, declined in purity the more it overspread the country, because the passionate expressions used in the songs could arouse human nature without imparting a spiritual meaning; and in the reaction against immoral tendencies Brahmanism re-asserted itself when the Muhammadan power decayed in the 18th century. Learning then found patronage at two Courts, that of Raja Kṛishṇachandra of Nadiya and that of Raja Râjballabh of Bikrâmpûr near Dacca; but at both poetry fell under the control of courtiers and schoolmen who imitated Sanskrit and Persian models, and it became highly artificial with ornate diction and elaborate conceits. Bhârat Chandra obtained great fame with his *Annadâ-mangal*, in which the old-time story of prince Sundara was retold in depraved taste. Jaynârâyaṇ and his accomplished niece Ânandamayî were distinguished at Bikrâmpûr; and the Muhammadan poet Âlâol, who worked mainly in the field of translation, gained the applause of Muhammadans as well as Hindus in his poem, *Padmâbatî*, notwithstanding its strong Hindu proclivities.

Rural poetry is discussed in its four divisions, the *kîrtan* songs, the songs of the *kaviwâlâs*, which grew out of simple episodes in the *yâtrâs*, the religious songs about Kṛishṇa and others, and the songs of the *yâtrâs* or popular drama.

The author thus reaches the period of English rule and discusses the influences, which affected Bengal, directly from the Government and missionaries, and indirectly by its contact with the West, and the effects that have been produced thereby in the elaboration of the language, the altered outlook of the leading writers and the many-sided character and tendencies of the books written. He has endeavoured to weigh all these matters without prejudice and impartially.

This book is the outcome of great research and study, for which the author deserves the warmest praise. He has explained the literature and the subjects treated in it with such fullness and in such detail as to make the whole plain to any reader; and the book would probably gain in usefulness by some compression. The folk-literature, the structure and style of the language, metre and rhyme, and many miscellaneous points are discussed in valuable notes; and specimens of old decorated book-covers and handwriting and some portraits are displayed in coloured plates. The tone is calm and the judgments appear to be generally fair, though it is well-nigh impossible to estimate aright the period of English influence, since the changes have been vaster and profounder than in any earlier age and are still in progress. One noticeable blemish appears in the transliteration of Sanskrit and Bengali words and names; no uniform system is observed and the same word even is not always transcribed in the same way.

F. E. P.